
The American Review
on the
SOVIET UNION

SOVIET FAR EAST

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ARCTIC LIFE-LINE

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ARTISTS AND WARTIME MORALE

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The American Review

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SOVIET UNION

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TO OUR READERS

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THE SOVIET FAR EAST

THE Soviet Ambassador to the United States, Maxim Litvinov, in his first press conference in Washington (December 13, 1941) commented on the spread of the war "to all continents" and declared: "We now have, in various parts of the world, separate sectors of one great battlefield." In the line-up of opposing forces on this world front, Tokyo is in one camp and Moscow in the other; Japan is one of the Axis powers while the Soviet Union is one of the United Nations. In answer to a reporter's question, "What are the official relations between the Soviet Union and Japan at present?", Soviet Ambassador Litvinov gave the terse characterization: "Formally they are normal. We maintain diplomatic relations. We have an embassy in Tokyo and they have one in Moscow." This situation, examined against the background of Japanese territorial ambitions in Siberia and a long history of armed and diplomatic clashes between the Soviets and the Japanese, is clearly unstable. Should this delicate equilibrium be upset by a change in the relative strength of the USSR and Japan or of their respective allies¹ or by any other factor, two of the three mightiest armies in the Far East will clash along a front equal in length to that which extends from Petsamo on the Arctic to Taganrog on the Azov Sea. Thus, the strength and the weaknesses of the Soviet Far East are a matter of vital interest to all the world. Meanwhile, the very factors of geography, economy and population behind the lines which would greatly affect the outcome of such a struggle have played no small role in determining the present status of Soviet-Japanese relations.

What is the Soviet Far East?

Until three years ago that portion of the USSR which borders on Japanese-held lands and which extends along the sea-coast up to the Bering Straits was organized as a single administrative unit: the Far Eastern Territory. Then, however, this area was split into two administrative districts, the Khabarovsk Territory and the smaller Maritime Territory. The latter consists only of the area around Vladivostok and

¹ Litvinov declared at the press conference: "It is Hitler who is the chief culprit in all the present wars, the inspirer and moving spirit of the whole gang, and the destruction of Hitler would mean the end of them all . . . we should be rendering our allies and the common cause poor service did we for a moment relax our efforts in this direction, just now."

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up to the coast to a point opposite Alexandrovsk-on-Sakhalin. While administratively there is no longer a Soviet Far East, the term is still frequently used to designate the former Far Eastern Territory as well as some of the hinterland. When the All-Union Agricultural Exhibition opened in Moscow in the spring of 1939, the Far Eastern Pavilion—designed to resemble a turreted fortress flanked by armed Frontier Guards—included the exhibits of areas as far inland as the Irkutsk Region, which lies just to the west of Lake Baikal. In a speech delivered at about the same time, the head of the Communist Party in Irkutsk Region defined the economic function of that area as being that of a strong rear for what is frankly called the "Far Eastern front."²

Imagine Canada and Alaska from Lake Superior to the Pacific and one has a fair idea of the dimensions, population and industry of the Soviet Far East: in place of the ports of Vancouver and Prince Rupert, Vladivostok and Nikolaevsk-on-the-Amur; in place of Lake Superior, marking western Canada off as a distinct economic and geographic unit, Lake Baikal. Yet there is an important difference between the two. The economy of Western Canada is linked closely with that of the United States. The economy of the Soviet Far East, on the other hand, has had to be so organized as to be independent of the frequently hostile forces to the south. Until recently, all sorts of commodities from knocked-down blast furnaces to wooden spoons were imported thousands of miles overland from European Russia. Paradoxically, they were imported to end imports, for a major objective of Soviet economic planning in the Far East has been to render that area impregnable. Military security for the Soviet Far East requires that its dependence upon the Trans-Siberian Railroad be ended either by the establishment of additional supply routes or by the creation of its own industry, or both. The Trans-Siberian remains, for the Soviet Union, what the Panama Canal is to the United States, and it is as heavily guarded.

Transport

The Trans-Siberian extends in a huge curve along the semi-circular border. It resembles, and has served as, a steel brake-band restraining the expansionist ambitions of the Japanese. Five years ago

² Until the German invasion, the Soviet equivalent of the American Corps area was known as a Military District or, in the case of those sections along the western borders, a Special Military District. The single exception to this rule was the area for which the two Separate Red Banner Far Eastern Armies were, and are responsible; this was simply entitled the Far Eastern Front.

that brake-band was doubled in strength by the laying of a second track some distance to the north, and by the duplication of bridges and other equipment. For six months each year the mighty Amur and Ussuri rivers form an additional barrier over a distance of 2100 miles—almost the entire length of the frontier. During the other six months from November to April, these rivers and their tributaries are frozen highways. Winter or summer, most of the thousand-mile section of the railroad to the east of Rukhlovo (the northernmost point on the curving border) is a vulnerable fifty miles from the frontier across flat or gently rolling bottom lands. It is this eastern section that formed the old Far Eastern Territory. West of Rukhlovo the railroad diverges from the frontier and climbs into the Yablonovoi range, comparable to the highest and most rugged portion of the Appalachians. In this section the foothills, and farther west, the eight-thousand-foot peaks themselves, extend to the very border.

The northernmost point on the frontier is also the junction of the railroad with the single truly invulnerable means of communication with the Far East, a four-thousand mile Arctic Burma Road along the Northern Sea Route from Archangel, down the Lena River and over a highway from Yakutsk to the railroad. But the Arctic route is open only during the summer months. During the rest of the year freight can only be trucked overland around the north end of Lake Baikal. In either case the expense is enormous. Moreover, the amount of freight that can be carried is a fraction of what is annually moved by rail.³ Most important, the areas along the vulnerable eastern section of the Trans-Siberian can, as far as is known, receive supplies overland only until the end of April while subsidiary winter roads are open. Icebreakers make ocean shipping possible the year round along the 600-mile coast of the Maritime krai from Vladivostok to Sovetskaia Gavan and to Alexandrovsk on the west coast of Sakhalin. The excellent harbor of Petropavlovsk-on-Kamchatka, 1500 miles from Vladivostok, can also be kept ice-free. But the year-round routes from Petropavlovsk to the mainland both lie very close to Japanese naval and air bases, while the route from Ust-Bolsheretsk on Kamchatka's west coast to Soviet ports on the Okhotsk Sea is open less than half the year. It has been suggested, however, that a winter highroad can be laid across the ice just as has been done at various times on Lake Baikal, Lake Ladoga and the Finnish Gulf. Soviet coastal waters on the Japan Sea

³See A. Steiger, "Soviet Arctic Supply Line" in this issue; also, A. Grajdanzev, "The Trans-Siberian Railway and the Problem of Soviet Supply," *Pacific Affairs*, December, 1941.

are within the range of the smallest Japanese war-craft and even of fighter aircraft. The reverse, naturally, is also true, and the prevalence of heavy fogs during the summer months would make shipping during that period comparatively safe. During the rest of the year, the highways would have to carry much of the burden of wartime transport in this area, along with the railroad.

Although it has been difficult to follow the development of the highway system in the Far East, enough has been made known to indicate that serviceable roads link all major cities. Generally, these roads follow the railroad and relieve it of short-haul freight. In the time of war, this would be an advantage, if service on the railroad were disrupted by aerial bombardment. But should sections of the line be captured, the roads would be broken as well. Their quality may be judged from the fact that it was possible to report more than six years ago⁴ that the newly-completed five-hundred mile road from Vladivostok to Khabarovsk could be traversed by a passenger car in eighteen hours and by a truck in thirty. The distance and the mountain terrain are very similar to that on highways between New York and Cleveland, and as the time required to make the trip is the same, the road is evidently comparable to a first-class highway in the United States.

Most important of the new developments in Far Eastern transport is the Baikal-Amur Railroad now under construction. This line, planned to run from Komsomolsk on the lower Amur to a junction with the Trans-Siberian at Taishet after swinging north of Lake Baikal, is to meet the needs of the growing Far East for years to come. It will be situated at a considerable distance from the border. However, the third Five-Year Plan, 1938-1942, was to see the completion of only part of the line. The one indirect progress report available⁵ jibes with known facts about the development of areas along its probable route to indicate the section referred to by the plan. In all likelihood, the length of line from the new industrial city of Komsomolsk to the coal and iron-ore regions high up on the Bureia River is now in operation. The same report states definitely that a branch line along the Bureia connecting with the Trans-Siberian at the town of Izvestkovaia is functioning. These railroads, and the Komsomolsk-Khabarovsk line in operation for the last several years, would provide a second line of transport for the three-hundred-mile section from Bureia to Khabarovsk. Moreover, with the highway, and

⁴ *Pravda*, November 4, 1935.

⁵ *Pravda*, September 2, 1940.

possibly the railway, to Sovetskaia Gavan, and the coastal ship-lanes south of that port, there is a second line of contact with Vladivostok.

While highway and railroad are laboriously laid over mountain and swamp, the airplane provides regular communication with the most distant sections of the Far East. True, the increase in freight to be carried and the improvement in means of transport enabling larger and cheaper shipments has relegated the plane to a minor position in the economy of the Far East. But transports of five- and ten-ton capacity still serve the outlying districts and emergency shipments are still made by plane even along the rail line. In time of war the sturdy equipment and the experience accumulated in fifteen years of regular air freight service could play a considerable role in providing food, machine parts and other necessities to temporarily isolated communities.

Industry

Ship, truck and plane do their part, and the new railroad is being built, but transport in the Far East can still be spelled in one word—the Trans-Siberian. Quite logically, the Soviet authorities have therefore conceived of the defense of the Soviet Far East as a problem to be solved within the limits and with the resources of that region. For twelve years the forces along the Korean and Manchurian borders have been organized as an independent army—now two armies. Until very recently those forces had to depend for every necessity upon supplies hauled from the west and stored in quantities sufficient to last out any war that might be fought in the Far East. It may be that certain items are still beyond the capacity of that area to produce. But the aim of Soviet planning for the region around and east of Lake Baikal has been to provide it with a balanced and complete modern economy capable of serving both the needs of an expanding virgin region of continental dimensions and of freeing its armies from dependence upon the west. Actually, two new industrial regions were planned, one east of Rukhlovo and the other to the west. In general, that project was to become a reality by the end of the third Five-Year Plan, i.e., by the end of this year. The available data would seem to indicate that this goal is being reached.

When the Special Red Banner Far Eastern Army was organized in 1929, no Soviet blast furnace was smelting iron east of the Donbass. Today, at least three steel mills producing everything from pig iron to rolled steel products are operating in the Far East. One is at Petrovsk-

Zabaikalsk near Chita, another at the remarkable pioneer city of Komsomolsk-on-the-Amur, and the third is near Irkutsk. A fourth may have been built near the bay of Olga near Vladivostok. The three known to be in operation are hundreds of miles from the frontier across mountainous and sparsely settled country. Each gets its iron ore, coal and limestone from districts no more vulnerable than the plants themselves. It should prove no insuperable problem to provide stock-piles of other materials capable of providing for the needs of these plants over an extended period. The total production of these mills is still but a fraction of Japanese steel output.

When the Special Red Banner Far Eastern Army was organized, coal was being mined in quantity only in the immediate vicinity of Vladivostok. The annual output of a little over a million tons represented only 2.8% of the production of the USSR as a whole at that time. But by 1938 output east of the "hump" in the border and on the island of Sakhalin had risen to 4,750,000 tons. Actual figures for production since 1938 are not available. However, it has been reported⁶ that output in the fields near Vladivostok, which remain the largest in the Far East, had come up to plan in 1940. Now coal is also being mined along the Amur and its numerous tributaries and on Sakhalin. Thus, not only will long-haul transportation of coal have been eliminated if this year's production plan is met, but the development of local fields has made each section of the railroad and every budding industrial center largely independent in this regard.

Oil was included with coal in the provision of the third Five-Year-Plan establishing complete independence of fuel imports as a goal to be reached in the Far East this year. Chief oil producing district in the Far East is Sakhalin, where output of Soviet-controlled wells reached 360,900 tons in 1938,⁷ having risen from a negligible 17,600 tons in 1929.⁸ This oil is refined at plants in Khabarovsk. In addition to the highly vulnerable fields at Sakhalin, and the less vulnerable but relatively unimportant new producing areas on the Kamchatka peninsula and at various points on the mainland, the third Five-Year Plan projected the construction of synthetic liquid fuel plants for which the rich and numerous coal deposits of the Far East would provide raw material.

⁶ *Pravda*, February 18, 1941.

⁷ The Japanese have concessions there dating from 1925. The wells they control are understood to produce approximately as much as those under Soviet ownership.

⁸ All statistics in this article on industrial production and percentage of nation-wide output for 1938 and earlier years are from "*Sotsialisticheskoe Stroitel'stvo*, SSSR, 1933-1938."

In addition to steel and fuel, the third Five-Year-Plan provided that, by the end of this year, a third major need of expanding industry, and of defense—cement—would be met entirely out of production in the Far East. A plant near Vladivostok which went into operation in 1935 was the second largest cement works built in the USSR during the second Five-Year Plan. In 1937, the Far East produced 164,000 tons of cement, most of it at this plant. This year's output of 525,000 tons is to come largely from new plants at Komsomolsk, Khabarovsk and Londoko in Birobidjan. Thus, with cement as with coal, not only will the area east of Lake Baikal as a whole be independent of imports, but each important industrial center—and each corps of Army engineers—will have its own supply nearby.

The status of industry in the Far East emerges most clearly when related to population. At the time of the census of January, 1939, the population of the two territories which formerly composed the Far Eastern Territory totaled 2,330,000, or 1.4% of that of the country as a whole. Percentages of industrial output stood as follows: coal—3.6%, oil—1.12%, pig iron—0, cement—3.01%, leather shoes—0.12%, granulated sugar—0.14%, fish—25.2%.⁹ The population of the same area was to increase to about 2,750,000 by the end of this year as a result of resettlement from the west. As the population of the sixteen Republics composing the USSR is approximately 190,000,000, the percentage ratio remains about the same fractionally under one-and-one-half per cent. Under the Five-Year-Plan, the share of this area in total planned output for 1942 is as follows: coal—5.6%, oil—2% (estimated, and excluding synthetic fuel), pig iron—4% (estimated), cement—5.25%.¹⁰ It may be concluded, therefore, that in order to meet the exceptional needs of the Far East in building materials, metal and fuel for defense and for the development of a virgin territory, it was felt necessary to create basic industries producing roughly two to three times as much per head of population as does the country as a whole. Similar figures may be adduced regarding recorded and planned development for Irkutsk Region and the areas between Lake Baikal and the border of the old Far Eastern Territory.

Non-ferrous metals and lumber are, with fish and furs, the main items normally shipped from the Far East to the western portions of

⁹ The figures for consumers' goods are for 1937 output, the others for 1938.

¹⁰ These figures are valuable only to indicate planned, and probable, degree of industrialization relative to population. The loss of much of the Donbass has artificially raised the percentage ratio of all other sections of the country.

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the USSR. Each of these products comes from several widely scattered localities. It is clear that the industries of the area do not and will not suffer for lack of them.

The location of important processing and manufacturing industries corresponds roughly to the size and rate of growth of the largest cities.

City	Population December, 1926	Population January, 1939	% Increase
Irkutsk	108,129	243,380	125.1
Vladivostok	107,980	206,432	91.2
Khabarovsk	52,045	199,364	283.1
Ulan-Ude	28,918	129,417	347.5
Chita	61,526	102,555	56.7
Komsomolsk	Not in existence	70,746	
Voroshilov	35,344	70,628	98.8
Blagoveshchensk	————	58,761	

The population of Komsomolsk was to reach 300,000 by the end of this year, making it the largest and industrially by far the most important city east of Lake Baikal.

What, then, can be said of the Soviet Far East, from Irkutsk east to the sea, as a factor in determining the position of the USSR in Pacific relationships? It is geographically vulnerable and thinly populated. The population, industries and agriculture of the section east of Chita are largely concentrated in town and settlements close to its two thousand mile border. The cities of this area still depend, primarily, upon a single railroad for contact with the west and with one another. However, the Far East has achieved a high degree of independence of the west, both as regards heavy industry and agriculture.

WILLIAM MANDEL.

[The accompanying maps on the Soviet Far East are revised from maps published under the auspices of The Institute of Pacific Relations in "An Atlas of Far Eastern Politics."]

THE SOVIET ARTIST JOINS THE WAR EFFORT

ON June 23, one day after hostilities opened up on the western borders of the USSR, the first Soviet war poster rolled off the press. Since then the poster artists and caricaturists have been hard at work. Many of the cartoons and posters have been received in this country and put on exhibition. Reproductions of these and of copies transmitted to the United States by radio have appeared in the American press from time to time. A new cartoon appears in some Soviet newspaper almost every day, and each week a new series of anti-fascist posters is exhibited conspicuously in the cities and villages of the Soviet Union.

Helping to fight their country's war with pictures is an established tradition for Soviet artists. Vladimir Mayakovsky, the famous Soviet poet and poster artist, the tenth anniversary of whose death was marked throughout the Soviet Union on April 14, 1940,* once said that the pen should be regarded "as much a weapon as the bayonet." He inspired artists and poets of the young Soviet republic to create posters rallying the people to the 1918-1920 struggle against Intervention. Under his leadership, on the streets of Moscow there appeared "ROSTA windows," posters exhibited by the Russian Telegraph Agency. This is the tradition contemporary Soviet artists are reviving in the "TASS windows," shown by the Telegraph Agency of the Soviet Union, which is the chief news service of that country. In the two decades between "ROSTA windows" and "TASS windows," however, the pens and brushes of Soviet poster and cartoon artists and painters have not been idle. They were on hand to help in all the struggles of the growing country; the campaign against illiteracy, the three Five-Year Plans, collectivization, the anti-fascist struggle. Daily newspaper cartoons and portraits, landscapes, still-lives, and heroic murals all played their part.

D. S. Moor (pseudonym of Dmitrii Stakhevich Orlov), the Soviet caricaturist, said at a meeting of the Poster Artist Section of the Trade Union of Art Workers in 1940: "There are no insignificant themes for poster art. Everything that is being done by Soviet people must

* See the July, 1940, issue of *The American Quarterly on the Soviet Union* for material on Mayakovsky's life and work.

inspire artists to create vivid and striking posters." Immediately after the Reichswehr attacked the Soviet Union, Soviet poets and artists formed special war-poster workshops and started creating cartoons and posters to bolster and sustain the morale of the Soviet people. (Margaret Bourke-White recently had a photograph published in "Life" showing these artists at work on their posters.) These workshops were organized through the Trade Union of Art Workers, which unites workers in the plastic, theatre, and music arts, and through the Creative Union of Artists, a laboratory of poster artists, painters, graphic artists and stage designers which aids in the development of cultural ideas. To produce the "TASS windows," editorial boards were set up to read the daily TASS dispatches and to suggest themes to the artists. A careful time schedule is followed. By noon on a given day the artists have their sketches ready. Then the writers and poets begin integrating word and picture. By evening the posters are ready for stenciling and blocking in. On the next day they are put on display.

The posters and newspaper cartoons shown in the United States reveal varied graphic styles. The vigor of early Soviet posters of Intervention days has again come to the fore. The use of black and white or of simple primary colors, in large areas, with no complication of detail is the keynote. Some posters are not captioned at all; others are accompanied by satirical verse several stanzas in length.

"TASS windows" are not pretty. They call for a fight to the death, no mercy to the enemy. They show the fighting spirit of a people which has been invaded, plundered, violated. They urge that the war of resistance be fought with a force equal to that of the invader.

There are caricatures in black and white and in bright colors. There are fine portraits of heroes and guerrilla fighters. There are black, red, white and sometimes green posters done in large forms with spaces completely filled in with color but no perspective suggested. There are series which tell a story or an anecdote. Some show the symbolic annihilation of the "fascist reptile" and others show vividly what happens to individual fascists on Soviet soil. Some have no text; but those that do usually have it in verse form. What is outstanding about the texts is that they are completely one with the picture, neither afterthought nor forethought. It is clear that the artists and writers have worked closely together. Soviet critics speak of the posters as being "laconic, simple, easily comprehensible."

The first poster made in the Soviet Union after Hitler crossed

the borders was by N. Dolgorukov. Its theme was "We Shall Sweep the Fascist Barbarians Off the Face of the Earth." It portrays a shell blowing to bits a monster in swastika form. Around the exploding shell are scattered the bleary-eyed, bemoustached head, hairy claws, blood-dripping axe, ancient Teutonic helmet.

On the third day of the war, the famous Kukryniksy trio of cartoonists who work as one (*Kuprianov*, *Krylov*, and *Nikolai Sokolov*) issued their first war poster. This was an illustration of Molotov's warning to the enemy: "Napoleon suffered defeat and met his doom. It will be the same with Hitler."

Against a silhouetted background of Napoleon being pushed back by peasant pitchforks, Hitler is depicted holding in one hand the torn non-aggression pact and in the other a smoking revolver. A Red Army rifle is poised above his head, ready to strike. The Kukryniksi poster is done in striking blacks and reds. Dolgorukov's poster is in bright greens and reds.

Besides Dolgorukov and the Kukryniksi, many other well-known Soviet artists have been busily sketching to encourage the fighters at the front and to mobilize the people at home. Among them are G. Savitskii, P. Sokolov-Skalia, B. Goriaev, M. Solovev, B. Efimov, M. Cheremnykh, V. Vasilev, I. Pimenov, Kokorekin, Radakov, S. Gerasimov, B. Ioganson, Osinsky. Writers collaborating are N. Aseev, Isakovsky, V. Kataev, S. Kirsanov, A. Raskin, M. Slobodskoi, Argo, N. Aduv, S. Marshak, D. Bednyi (and A. Afinogenev before he was killed by a Nazi bomber in Moscow on November 4, 1941).

The artists Gerasimov and Ioganson have only now turned to graphic art to help meet the war needs of their country; they are landscape and portrait artists in normal times. Most of the others, however, are well-known Soviet poster artists. More than 200 "TASS windows" appeared in the first three months of the war. The "windows" and posters are circulated in great numbers (from 25,000 to 200,000 copies each) and are spread throughout the country from the war front to the remotest villages.

The themes speak to the entire Soviet people. Folks at home are told about the heroic exploits of their Red Army. The fighting front is shown that united with them are not only the people of the Soviet Union but the Allies and the peoples of the occupied countries. Guerrillas are taught how to organize their campaigns and are encouraged by stories of guerrilla successes already achieved. Women

are called to the factories and fields. Children are persuaded to study well, are constantly reminded that many well-trained specialists will be needed to rebuild their country after the war is ended.

The Soviet posters and cartoons not only generalize about the enemy (whom they represent variously as a swastika-shaped crab, a misshapen cow, a wolf with mouth dripping blood, an ape, a hyena, a jackal) but caricature the Nazi leaders themselves. In some cases these caricatures have become stylized: Goebbels is shown as a rat with Goebbel's face, Goering as a pompous braggart with an immense undulating paunch hung with medals. Under the caption "the blond Aryan," Hitler is caricatured as a wizened dark little man in an over-size hat reminiscent at the the same time of Napoleon's tricorne and of the horned headgear of ancient Teutonic invaders. Boris Efimov (in a cartoon in "Pravda" of July 18, 1941, entitled "The Berlin Brigand Band") was the first to represent the Nazi trio in that manner, and other artists followed suit. A series of posters received in the United States underlines this type of satire by using the captions: "as handsome as Goebbels," "as well-built as Goering," "as blond as Hitler."

Unfortunately we do not have facilities to reproduce any posters here, and verbal descriptions offer only a pale reflection of their impact. A Kukryniksi drawing with text by the famous children's author, S. Marshak, which appeared in *Pravda*, August 14, 1941, shows Hitler at a table sucking a bone, while around him are gathered hounds representing his "new order" associates. It reads:

- | | |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1.
"Hitler has his pack of canines
And he orders them about;
One of them is Mussolini,
Clumsy, ponderous and stout. | 3.
All the canines serve their master
Standing on their two hind legs;
Each of them a juicy morsel
From the master's table begs. |
| 2.
If the 'Fuhrer' gives the order,
Antonescu will obey;
Tisso, Mannerheim and Horthy
Will not say to Hitler, 'nay!' | 4.
But, alas, each juicy morsel
Into master's belly goes;
All the servile dogs are getting
Are the master's kicks and blows." |

Every day new "TASS windows" are put on display in Moscow stores, on bulletin boards in the squares, in the subway stations. One,

by A. Shukhmin, which shows a Red Army man with pointed bayonet waiting for a falling Nazi parachutist, reads:

"You thought you'd find a place to land
On our Soviet border,
But you found a landing place
Of quite another order."

Another satirizes Hitler's "Foreign Legion" made up of "Europe's dregs"—three Marseilles procurers, two pickpockets from Prague, a Hague drunkard, three Brussels burglars, an Athenian dandy. This is captioned, "Almost, Almost—a Crusade." Most of these are done in primary colors on white backgrounds.

Not all effort is devoted to ridiculing the enemy. There are many serious posters invoking pathos, heroic resolution and similar emotions to spur the military and economic fronts to greater effort. Of this order is one which has been reproduced in several magazines in this country; it shows a peasant leaving his scorched homestead, with clenched fist vowing "We Shall Return." Another depicts a mother holding her child, killed by a fascist bomb; the caption demands "Revenge!"

American reporters returning to Moscow in December, 1941, after the Nazi offensive against the city had been decisively repulsed, found walls plastered with satiric new posters ridiculing Nazi boasts that they would be in Moscow—first in six weeks, then for the famous November holidays, then for Christmas. Hitler is shown with a red arrow through his posterior, kicked out of Moscow by a Russian boot, chased by a Red Army bayonet.

The best posters and caricatures get wide distribution through postcard reproduction and prints sent to the far corners of the Soviet Union. There are original postcards as well, with some fifty artists making extensive use of folk humor and bright colors, as do the poster and cartoon artists. Those received in this country are done in bright greens and reds and sombre black. One postcard shows a Nazi plane, its head a boastful Hitler, zooming towards Moscow; then the same plane descending with a Red Army plane in hot pursuit, but the head has now changed to a rabbit's. Another shows a working woman with a red kerchief on her head. Her finger is placed warningly at her mouth; and she is saying: "Don't babble!"

The value of collaboration between workers in two arts is apparent from what happens to the text of the Soviet posters, caricatures

and postcards. The verses that accompany the pictures are recited throughout the land, and sung too, for the most popular are set to music and played by jazz and other bands over the radio. From a "Tass window" there comes not only visual stimulation but a song hummed by civilian, Red Army man, and guerrilla alike.

B. L. KOTEN.

SOVIET ARCTIC SUPPLY LINE

[This article, prepared in the spring of 1941, takes account of Soviet plans for Arctic development in 1941 and 1942. It becomes of particular significance at this time, for with the approach of warmer weather the northern sea route of the Soviets becomes a vital shipping lane lying very close to Alaskan waters. The importance of the north in supply calculations would seem to receive confirmation in the appointment on February 10, 1942 of an Arctic expert, Peter Shirshov, to head the People's Commissariat of Merchant Marine. Hero of the Soviet Union, Doctor of Geographical Sciences, member of the Academy of Sciences, Shirshin served as hydrologist in the famous Paparin expedition to the North Pole in 1937, and has since continued to figure importantly in Arctic developments.]

WHAT is new in the Arctic territory which comprises more than two-fifths of the USSR? If less in the news, the Northern Sea Route development is nevertheless showing steady progress. A mounting volume of scheduled traffic is passing through Russia's Arctic waterway to the Far East. The northern territory reached by the seaway is developing at a quickened tempo.

Development in the Arctic territory has from its inception been progressively integrated with the growth of the entire country. The Arctic counterpart of the first Five-Year Plan was the rise of the Northern Sea Route Administration, a giant organization with governmental functions in a veritable northern empire. Exploration, shipping, airways, trade, industry, fishing, education, medical service: everything, formerly managed independently, was centralized under one national administration, which was essential for the execution of far-ranging projects.¹

Accordingly, the second Five-Year Plan period was a vast expansion which, if, on the whole orderly, was not always well managed. Big enterprises were the vogue—the North Pole Expedition, the flights to America, the founding of fifty weather stations, the opening of Siberian rivers, the rise of Arctic industries, the building of Arctic sea ports. These undertakings were carried out with great thoroughness and aroused worldwide excitement. Important shortcomings were overlooked: icebound ships, expensive rescue flights, mismanaged shipping and coal supply, high freight costs, etc. Big things were accomplished. Arctic workers gained confidence, but it became evident that their success would be short-lived unless the enterprises were managed more efficiently.

¹ Field, Wm. O., Jr., "The Soviet Arctic," *Research Bulletin on The Soviet Union*, Feb. 28, 1937.

The third Five-Year Plan period, marked by a general trend toward regional autonomy, finds an Arctic counterpart in the pruning of the Northern Sea Route Administration to make it essentially a transport organization, which still controls all northern exploration but performs administrative functions only in Arctic islands, in Chukotka and in the far north of Yakutia.² The Arctic empire remains, but administrative functions in the far north of European Russia, in the Ob and the Yenisei basins, have passed to regional soviets. In 1938 some 7,000 km. of the 12,250 km. of Arctic airways were transferred to the Civil Air Fleet.³ Industries and schools are managed by the respective commissariats. The Northern Sea Route participates in trade only as a carrier. The task set for the Administration during this period, which ends in 1942, is to transform the Northern Sea Route into a normally operated waterway, providing scheduled communication with the Far East.

Shipping

What progress is being made in shipping? Formerly shipments to northern Yakutia passed from Moscow to Irkutsk by rail and then over a motor road to the headwaters of the Lena, down which they were carried by raft and barge. Some of these shipments passed by rail all the way to Vladivostok, then north by seaway via the Bering Strait. Today these shipments are routed via Murmansk and Archangel, eastward through the northern seaway.⁴ By thus rerouting north Yakutian shipments not only do the goods reach their destination faster and at less cost, but thousands of tons of surplus freight are lifted from the Trans-Siberian railway.

Service along the seaway itself is being improved by means of direct long hauls to key points at the mouth of Siberian rivers, with a rational system of local delivery. Formerly, Tiksi Bay at the mouth of the Lena River was a transfer port for cargo consigned farther east to the Yana and Indigirka River regions. The long haul of 2,050 miles from Murmansk to Tiksi Bay cost 230 rubles a ton; whereas the short haul of 180 miles from Tiksi Bay to the Yana River mouth cost 200 rubles a ton. Transfer shipments out of Tiksi Bay to the

² Slavin, S., "The Northern Sea Route in the Third Five-Year Plan," *Sovetskaiia Aviatsiia*, No. 5, 1939.

³ Libman, A. Y., "Polar Aviation in the Third Five-Year Plan," *Grazhdanskaia Aviatsiia*, No. 5, 1939.

⁴ Margolin, A., "Freight Routes in the Far North," *Sovetskaiia Arktika*, No. 6, 1939, pp. 32-46.

mouths of the Indigirka, Anabar, and other north Yakutian rivers were also exorbitantly high.⁵ Direct shipment in large vessels from Murmansk to the mouths of these side rivers has been introduced to eliminate expensive transfers en route, and several large shiploads are delivered annually to many new Arctic centers.

As this method works well only where the local station has a large freight turnover, a different system is being introduced for smaller stations which may have a freight turnover of less than 100 tons. In Novaia Zemlia, for instance, shipments are made to twenty-one points, five of which are fairly large. Formerly 1,200-ton cargo vessels called at each point, sometimes losing days just to unload a few tons. At present large centers serve as transfer ports out of which operate small vessels of 200- to 300-ton capacity. Where required, local coastwise shipping in small boats is being introduced generally. A 300- to 500-ton coastwise schooner working during the 100-day shipping season can handle up to 5,000 tons of cargo a season at less cost than can one big 5,000-ton freighter. The use of small-tonnage boats for local shipping economizes on freight costs and releases big cargo vessels for other purposes. It is estimated that properly organized coastwise shipping can result in an annual economy of two million rubles, enough in four years' time to pay off the estimated investment of eight million rubles required for building the special coastwise vessels.⁶ The coastwise vessels are harbored at key ports where big seagoing steamers call to unload and reload with cargo of timber, furs, and minerals. Voyages become doubly productive.

The key ports themselves—Dickson Island, Kozhevnikov Bay, Tiksi Bay, Ambarchik, Providence Bay—are being mechanized to speed up the movements of big cargo boats. Dock conveyers, both traveling and stationary, coal-bunkering booms, narrow-gauge port railways, traveling belt loaders make their appearance. The program now calls for ships to remain in port four to five days, instead of ten to twelve as before.⁷ Some delay is still caused by inadequate facilities for supplying the ships with coal and water. Coal barges, water tenders, and oil tankers are being added to the harbor fleets.

The freight turnover rose phenomenally at some points, as much as 2700 percent along the Kolyma River in the five-year period,

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Kondakov, A., "Local Coastwise Shipping," *Sovetskaia Arktika*, No. 8, 1940, pp. 17-25.

⁷ Kostiuk, A., "Ports of the Arctic," *Sovetskaia Arktika*, No. 8, 1939, pp. 16-21.

1932-1937.⁸ Ships are being moved faster today through the Northern Sea Route. In 1933 to bring two freighters from Murmansk to the Lena delta at Tiksi Bay was a great achievement, since they were the first cargo vessels to arrive there from the West. They wintered near Tiksi Bay. In 1940 more than ten freight ships were not only convoyed through to the Lena but all of them returned from the Arctic before the winter freeze-up. Moreover, one new vessel, the *Dickson*, on her maiden voyage not only reached Tiksi Bay and returned to Murmansk, but also went for a second round-trip voyage east to Port Igarka in the same season.

In 1932 it was a world sensation when the *Sibiriakov* in one season of less than three months succeeded in making the through passage from Archangel to the Pacific; but in 1939 the new Soviet icebreaker *J. Stalin* in a 12,000-mile voyage of seventy days not only reached the Bering Strait from Murmansk but returned to her western base as well. Freight shipments during the five-year period, 1933-1938, were more than a million tons. By 1938 the average annual haulage was 240,000,⁹ which is five times greater than the average for 1930, and about fourfold above the grand total of 55,700 tons carried in the forty-five years from 1876 to 1919.¹⁰ The freight turnover of the Arctic ports for 1939 was reported to be double that of 1938.¹¹

Ships not only move faster and carry more, but the Arctic fleet has recently been augmented by the *J. Stalin* and the *L. Kaganovich*, two 11,000-ton icebreakers of Soviet design, as well as several new Soviet transport vessels: *Mossoviet*, *Dezhnev*, *Dickson*, the tanker *Yukagir*. The *S. Levanevsky*, a new icebreaker steamer, has already been launched while two other new icebreakers, of the *Stalin* class,* the *O. Schmidt* and the *M. Molotov*, are reported ready for launching. With these additions, the Soviet Arctic fleet numbers above forty icebreakers, the largest fleet of its kind in the world. In addition, Soviet ship designers are planning new ships: Arctic transports of

⁸ *Sovetskaia Arktika*, No. 10, 1939, p. 45.

⁹ "Arctic Pavilion at the All-Union Agricultural Fair," *Sovetskaia Arktika*, No. 9, 1939.

¹⁰ Slavin, S., *op. cit.*

¹¹ Kostiuk, A., *op. cit.*

* [The *Stalin*: 345 feet long and 75 feet wide; displacement of 11,000 tons; three steam turbine engines with total of 10,000 h.p.; bunkers hold 3,000 tons of coal; nine boilers and four furnaces; 25-kw steam dynamo; three hydroplanes for ice observation launched by catapult; double hulls all welded extend completely around the ship; specially designed curved stern; pumps on board with capacity of 3,500 tons per hour. Model exhibited at New York World's Fair in 1939 showed mounted naval guns. *Ed.*]

10,000 tons, bigger than any now in use. Powered with two 7,200 horsepower Diesel engines, they are designed to make the round trip between Murmansk and the Bering Strait without refueling. An even larger transport of 16,000 tons is projected, with a cruising radius of 7,500 miles. Super ice-breakers of 50,000 horsepower and 24,000-ton displacement are again discussed.¹² The Soviet Arctic shipping base must be strong to inspire these bold designs.

Industries

Many new industries such as polymetal, nickel, and apatite mines, sawmills, etc., have already been established. But these function under the respective commissariats, as do the rising iron and steel industry of the Kola peninsula which may in time supply steel for Arctic ships. Merchant shipping has become the main enterprise promoted by the Northern Sea Route Administration. Therefore, industries allied to shipping such as coal mining are most vigorously developed. To meet the rising demand for bunkering coal and to eliminate long haulage, numerous coal deposits near the Arctic seaway are being mined. Around the coal mines new towns are rising. A typical example is ten-year-old Sanghar-Khai, which rose in the forests primeval along the Lena River below Yakutsk. This town, now with a population of 3,000, has an electric power station, State produce farm, sawmill, brick yard, airport, telephone central, stores, schools, hospital, library, clubhouses.¹³ In 1939 the Sanghar-Khai mines, which are sunk in permanently frozen soil, supplied 22,000 tons of coal to Arctic ships alone.¹⁴

By 1940 the northern mines produced enough coal to eliminate the need for Donets coal, formerly carried north by rail, and Arctic ships were operated on Arctic-mined coal.¹⁵ Mining operations in the North will be expanded in proportion to demand and it is estimated that they will yield 1,500,000 tons by 1942.¹⁶

Accessible oil is also being prospected. Derricks have risen above test wells at Kozhevnikov Bay, Ust Yeniseisk, and other points. There are now only a few test towers standing in the open snow-blown

¹² Killesso, A., "New Types of Arctic Ships," *Sovetskaiia Arktika*, No. 6, 1940, pp. 17-25.

¹³ Ivina, M., "Sanghar-Khai," *Sovetskaiia Arktika*, No. 6, 1940, pp. 70-73.

¹⁴ *Sovetskaiia Arktika*, No. 1, 1940, p. 97.

¹⁵ Papanin, I. D., "Arctic Navigation in 1940," *Sovetskaiia Arktika*, No. 5, 1940, pp. 15-21.

¹⁶ Demidov, S., "Local Fuel for the Arctic Fleet," *Sovetskaiia Arktika*, No. 6, 1939, pp. 25-31.

tundra, where chugging crawler trucks are encroaching upon the reindeer's domain, but Soviet engineers visualize the rise of a forest of derricks to rival Baku. At Nordvik Bay are rock-salt mines which by 1942 should yield 50,000 tons a year for Far Eastern fisheries. At Amderma the largest fluor spar deposits in the USSR are now producing 15,000 tons of fluor spar annually; the output is to be raised to 18,000 tons by 1942.¹⁷ Tin is being mined on the upper Indigirka. Coal and gold are found on the upper Kolyma. During the third Five-Year Plan period investments in oil, salt, fluor spar, sand coal extraction are estimated at 120,000,000 rubles, half of which goes into coal mining.¹⁸ Meanwhile geological prospecting continues for wolfram, tin, gold, molybdenum, and other minerals. The extent of geological prospecting in Siberia under the Soviets can be gauged from the fact that in the twenty-year period 1918-1938, 10,000 printed works on Siberian geology were issued, which is more than double the 4,257 printed works that appeared during 226 years before 1918.¹⁹

To supply the northern population with home-grown vegetables, grain, and fresh meat, the Northern Sea Route Administration promotes farming enterprises. Vegetable-livestock farms are situated at Igarka and Sanghar-Khai. Reindeer-breeding farms are located at Volochanka, Potopova, and Anadyr. Mechanized sea-animal fisheries are found at Bulun and Providence Bay. Hothouse gardening has been developed at Providence Bay, Cape Wellen, Wrangel Island, Tiksi Bay and Dickson Island. New hothouse gardens are to rise at Ugolny Bay, Kozhevnikov, Cape Schmidt, Cape Chelyushkin, Chaun Bay, and Tranquillity Bay. Dairy and pig farms have proved successful on a small scale and are being encouraged.²⁰ Even polar weather stations are to live off the country. The use of wind energy for generating electric power is typical. Wind-driven dynamo engines are now producing electric power at three-fourths of the polar stations, replacing the internal-combustion and steam engines previously used which consumed expensive imported gasoline and coal.

Arctic Research

The network of almost sixty polar stations is being expanded by seven new stations, five of which are already in operation. They are

¹⁷ Slavin, S., *op. cit.*

¹⁸ Smirnov, N., "Organize Local Food Bases," *Sovetskaia Arktika*, No. 12, 1939, pp. 44-48.

¹⁹ Obruchev, V. A., "Discovery of Siberian Natural Wealth," *Sovetskaia Nauka*, No. 12, 1939, pp. 104-109.

²⁰ Smirnov, N., *op. cit.*

to be on Piotr Island, the Nordenskjold Islands, Maly Taimyr Island, Big Diomedé Island, and Shalaurov Island; points as far removed as the North Barents Sea and the Bering Strait.²¹ The service of some existing stations is being improved by removal to new sites that are nearer the seaway. Radio equipment is being standardized to replace the diversified sets now in use.²²

The five key radio stations—Anadyr, Tiksi Bay, Cape Chelyushkin, Dickson Island and Amderma—continue to act as focal points through which reports pass from the numerous small outposts. The volume of radio messages has greatly expanded. Tiksi Bay, for example, in 1935-1936 had a total exchange of 261,296 words, which had increased to 7,047,525 words by 1938-1939.²³ The powerful radio center at Dickson Island, in daily contact with Moscow by telephone, has raised its transmission capacity to 1,652,000 words a month; an average of 248,826 telegrams, of 50 to 100 words each, are handled in a year.²⁴

The polar stations also serve and are served by the polar flyers of the ice patrol whose reports are used in drawing up ice forecasts and in directing Arctic ship convoys. Ice reconnaissance, which between 1933 and 1937 averaged about 500 hours' flying a summer, has been stepped up to 2,000 hours a season. The total mileage flown each summer mounts above a million miles.²⁵

Conclusions

In all lines—shipping, industry, research—the development is meeting the demands made on the Northern Sea Route Administration and, with increasing attention to detail, new solutions are being found to the problems of the North. Concern about economy of fuel costs prompts Arctic pilots to call for shipment of oil and gasoline in tankers rather than in barrels which cause high losses through leakage and primitive filling equipment. The method of parking an airplane on the snowclad terrain is another subject for close study. Ice patrol pilots are developing a standard system of notation for reporting ice conditions. The navigation charts supplied by weather stations become more specific. Living conditions at weather outposts

²¹ "Polar Stations in the Third Five-Year Plan," *Sovetskaia Arktika*, No. 10, 1939, pp. 60-67.

²² Steiger, A., "Science in the Soviet Arctic," *American Review on the Soviet Union*, February, 1941.

²³ "Tiksi Bay Polar Station," *Sovetskaia Arktika*, No. 1, 1940, pp. 58-62.

²⁴ Alper, I., "Polar Worker Kryglov," *Sovetskaia Arktika*, No. 7, 1940, pp. 61-67.

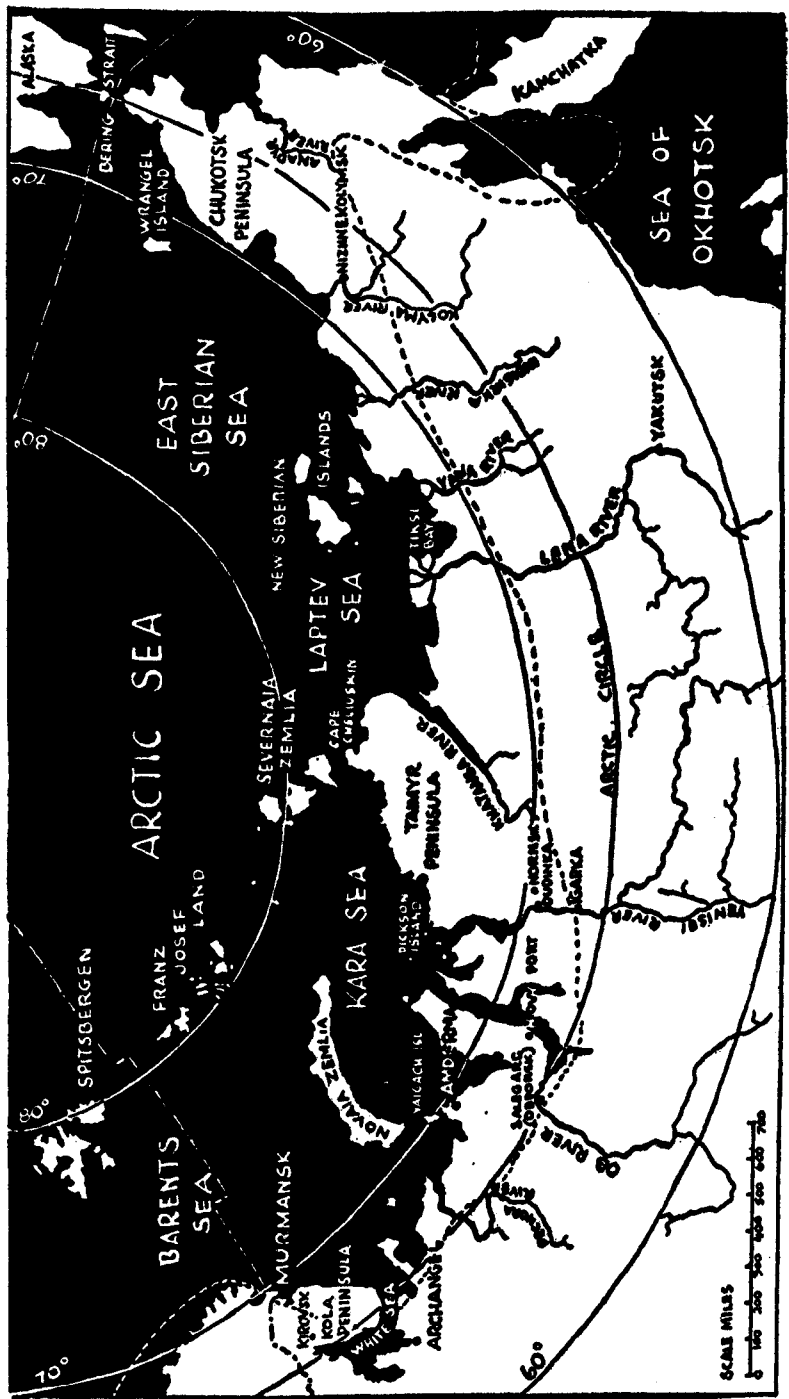
²⁵ TASS, October 15, 1939.

are improved, with a clean, well-furnished room provided for each worker. Natives of the North—Yakuts, Chukchi, Nentsi, and others—are being trained to operate the technical equipment, which in time may lead to fewer new people being brought North. Boring machines are now used to drill test holes in ice for hydrological observations in winter, and several hours of work with a pickaxe can now be eliminated. Machine repair shops are being installed at ports. The Dickson Island machine shop has three turning lathes, one universal, a planer, and a screw-cutting machine, which are used to repair tractors, wind-driven dynamo engines, electric saws, and harbor vessels. Port regulations become more stringent, with strict accounting for days spent in the harbor.

On the whole, developments in the Soviet Arctic no longer have the semblance of episodic expeditions, but assume an air of permanence. The effect of the seaway is like that of a new railway lending impetus to general growth in a virgin country. The Arctic enterprise is becoming self-supporting, increasingly able to pay off the large investments—a half billion rubles during the second Five-Year Plan period alone—which were made to promote shipping, industry, and trade in the North.

ANDREW STEIGER.

THE SOVIET ARCTIC



Broken line indicates mean isotherm of 50° F. of warmest month of year.

THE SOVIETS' ANSWER

By

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In February, 1941, the Eighteenth Conference of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R., whose members occupy the most important and responsible positions in government, and are looked to for leadership and direction of the economic life of the country, met in Moscow. At that Conference reports were presented on the progress made in various economic fields during 1940, and a Plan was adopted for further expansion in industry, transport, agriculture, and other fields in 1941. The details of this Plan, drawn up for the peaceful development of the country's economic resources and strength, are of particular interest now, adopted as they were under the threat of approaching attack by Germany, which finally took place on June 22, 1941.

Labor Program

It is obvious that the national program suggested for 1941 would require the energies, not only of the leaders, the members of the Communist Party, but also of practically the whole adult population, including women, of whom some 10,000,000 are employed in industry, and whose labor in agriculture is on a par with that of men. The description of the specific duties of the Communists gives an indication of the scope of the responsibilities laid on them. They are expected to improve manufacturing and working conditions in industry, to strengthen technical management and authority, to stabilize labor and wage standards, to stimulate increased labor productivity, and in general support any steps leading to increased production in all lines, and to better quality of product.

It is emphasized, however, that production schedules, once adopted, must not be interrupted, that all meetings of workers must be held outside of working hours, and that Communists, in carrying out their duties, were to lead, instruct, and set an example to the other workers. It has long been a requirement that a worker, before he could become a member of the Party, had to prove his superior knowledge of his work, and his qualities of leadership. Membership, while it brought certain privileges, also involved responsibilities and hard work.

The year 1941 began in the U.S.S.R. in an atmosphere of satisfactory accomplishment, although the goals set for 1940 were not fully realized in any major industry. But the last quarter of that year showed striking improvement in the performance of industry in the most important branches, with the result that the plan for three months was fully executed, and by many plants exceeded.

This upswing continued throughout the first quarter of 1941, and the new January plan figures were more than reached for coal, oil, steel and rolled materials, copper, zinc, and light industry production, and those for the first quarter by all the above except copper and zinc. No information is available on performance for the first 6 months, because of the interruption due to the German invasion of Soviet territory on June 22.*

Effect of German Invasion

The rapid advance of the German forces during the 6-month drive up to the end of December undoubtedly reduced industrial output sharply. The crippling or loss of many industrial cities, threatened or actually occupied by the Germans, including all Soviet territory west of Leningrad and Moscow, as well as the entire Ukrainian Republic as far east as Rostov-on-Don, deprived the country of the products of iron and steel, aluminum, tractor, and airplane plants, and those of many smaller industries. Soviet authorities, however, acted promptly to evacuate certain plants in Leningrad, Moscow, and other western cities eastward, to similar plants in or beyond the Ural mountain range.

New Plants Erected

In the new locations plants were at once set up either in existing similar factories or in new buildings erected for the purpose. Few specific details are available, but enough has been reported to justify the assumption that many of the best western plants are now operating in the East, beyond enemy reach, and that industrial output at the end of 1941 was well up to that of 1940, in the newly erected or established factories. In fact, one foreign correspondent reports that by the end of 1941 industrial output of defense materials as a whole had reached the production levels of the beginning of 1941.

* [In *Pravda*, June 4, 1941, the iron, steel, coal, rolled metal, oil and gas industries were reported as having fulfilled or overfulfilled their plans for the first five months of 1941. *Ed.*]

It is reliably reported that new plants of many kinds have been built, or old plants expanded, to accommodate the equipment shipped eastward by the trainload, accompanied by the skilled workers who had tended the machines in the evacuated plants. As a result, the Red Army has continued to be supplied with tanks, planes, military trucks, and other vehicles, in addition to artillery and weapons, and ammunition, of domestic manufacture, obtaining also tanks, planes, and other supplies from England and the United States.

The fact that Soviet armies were able to defend Moscow and Leningrad from occupation by the Germans, and in the south, re-occupy Rostov-on-Don, indicates that the Soviet Government had in reserve not only men, but also machines and munitions of all kinds, in sufficient quantity to equip the new armies. Part of this reserve equipment may represent stocks piled up since August 1939, the date of the German-Russian treaty, which gave the U.S.S.R. an opportunity to prepare for the Nazi onslaught. A considerable portion, however, undoubtedly was produced by the older plants in the Urals or east of these, and the new ones representing the evacuation of equipment from plants in occupied territory.

Much Unharmd

It is to be noted that the large textile centers of the Moscow area, including Ivanovo, and the automobile and tractor plants at Gorkii, Chelyabinsk, and Stalingrad were not reached by the German drive. The supply of textile goods for the army was therefore maintained, giving the Russian forces an immense advantage in winter weather over the Germans, many of whom were underclothed and ill-prepared for the Russian winter.

The press also reports that German planes and tanks have not performed satisfactorily in cold weather, whereas the Russians, who have long been flying under conditions of extreme cold, had little or no trouble with war machines. Relieved of the threat to the North Caucasian oil fields, and able to utilize the new American-type gasoline refineries in or near the Urals and in the Caucasus, Russian forces have put in the field and in the air, tank and plane squadrons that have been decisively valuable in the drive westward.

Soviet reports indicate that airplane plants in the western and Black Sea districts have been evacuated to safer locations and have continued, even increased, their production. The Soviet press reports "new tank, plane, and munitions factories and even new steel plants"

erected in "the Volga Basin, the Ural Mountains and Siberia," late in 1941, high-speed building methods reducing the time of construction to days instead of months. In the work the professional builders were aided by the personnel of evacuated plants, who became bricklayers and cement workers for the emergency.

It must be remembered that the Russo-German war has united the entire Soviet Union against the invader, and calls for the greatest possible effort on the part of every citizen. All industry is concentrated on defense work, every factory is devoted to some contribution to the war effort. The warnings of the government, constantly repeated for several years, have unified the natural sentiment of the people and their antipathy to foreign domination to a point where restrictions on hours of labor have been suspended,* and no sacrifice is too great if it helps the army or navy in its work. Plan figures have frequently been exceeded, some plants and mines doubling their previous monthly totals.

Particularly valuable developments are reported by the Soviet press in the Ural and Western Siberian districts: To quote one dispatch, "Ural copper and iron mines, steel mills, and machine-shops have pushed their output far above pre-war levels. Aluminum, magnesium, zinc, chrome, vanadium, cobalt, wolfram, and other strategic metals are pouring in increasing quantities to factories producing ever greater numbers of planes, tanks, guns, and shells. Petroleum regions are pumping thousands of barrels of oil above the pre-war norm, and coal mines have more than tripled their former yield."

Constant Improvement

Soviet engineers are not satisfied merely to continue to make the same products as before, but are reported to be constantly improving and changing the defense goods and materials produced. A new process for extracting gasoline from crude oil, new automotive military machines, new forms of munitions and explosives are among the improvements being worked out; chemical plants engaged in munitions production are being expanded, particularly in eastern districts, to replace capacity lost in the West.

Increased accomplishment has been demanded not only from Soviet industry but also from collectivized and State-managed agri-

* [For summary of the decree on obligatory overtime work from one to three hours daily, cf. the August, 1941, issue of *The American Review on the Soviet Union*, p. 74; for reports of voluntary workdays contributed to defense, cf. the October, 1941, issue, p. 69. *Ed.*]

culture. The 1941 Plan called for an expansion of sown area by 3.9 percent over 1940, to 157,000,000 hectares, and for a rise in the gross grain crop to 7,900,000,000 puds, particularly in the southeastern districts. Soviet press reports indicate general success in carrying out the agricultural plans, except for the sugar-beet crop in the Ukraine, which presumably could not be gathered.

Thus, supplies of grain harvested and transported east may well be large, perhaps sufficient for the needs of the army and the bulk of the population, except in the Far East. American press reports suggest that the requirements of that section may be covered by imports of wheat from the United States. Elaborate Soviet plans are now being drawn up for 1942, in which the Central Asiatic republics are to add greatly to their sugar-beet acreage, and also to plant on a larger scale flax, oil-bearing plants, grains, especially millet, and even tobacco in the Far East.

No statistics are available for the performance in 1941 of Soviet transport agencies, but it is plain from Soviet and other press reports that at least the railroads had improved their organization and tightened up discipline, with the result that they have played a decisive part in defense movements, of troops and supplies to the front, and of evacuated factory equipment, workers, and the population removed from danger zones, from the western districts eastward.

Early Preparations

It is to be noted that steps were taken by the Soviet Government, as part of its preparedness policy, early in 1941, to concentrate industry on production and to systematize output as far as possible. In addition to the tasks of Communist Party members with responsible positions in industry to maintain labor and technological discipline in factories, to enforce order and cleanliness in plants and on railroads, to reduce manufacturing costs and waste, a new duty was added by a decree of February 10, 1941.

This decree made a criminal offense the sale or exchange of machinery, materials, goods, or tools as between industrial organizations, without orders from higher authority. It was aimed at what was an evidently general evil in industry, but one that could not be permitted in a planned economy. Any surplus equipment, reported to the proper authorities, could be transferred to some point where it would be useful; but that transfer must be under direction.

After the war started in June, other restrictive measures were passed. The first of these was a decree, published July 4, doubling

all income and agricultural taxes, with the usual exemptions for the lowest income groups and families with sons in the Red Army. Another similar measure, taking effect on July 17, provided for food rationing in Moscow: this applied to specified quantities of bread, sugar, meat, fish, and fats, which could be purchased on cards at fixed prices. At that time, however, these products were still available in unrationed quantities but at higher prices, at certain stores and in the collective farm markets. By October the card quantities were still to be bought in Moscow, but the quality had deteriorated; some products were rarely available. Open market supplies could also still be obtained, but prices had doubled since the start of the war.

Foreign Trade in 1941

In the absence of any published statistics of Soviet foreign trade since 1938, it is impossible to estimate the movement of goods across the borders of the U.S.S.R. The closing of the land frontiers to the west was of course complete after June 22, and it is doubtful if any of the numerous commercial treaties made with European countries in 1940 and calling for exchanges of specified quantities of listed commodities were effectuated in 1941 to any considerable extent.

German control of the Aegean Sea blocked deliveries to and from Soviet Black Sea ports, most of which were occupied by German forces. There remained therefore only four means of access to the Soviet Union: the ports of Murmansk on the Arctic Ocean, Archangel on the White Sea, and Vladivostok in the Far East; and the land routes through India, Afghanistan, or Iran.

The first two ports have since June been under threat from German submarine and surface craft, and the third could at any time be blocked by Japan; Archangel and Vladivostok are also subject to freezing up in winter, though both can be kept open by ice breakers under most conditions. The land routes are open to the objection that no through connection can be made between Soviet railroads and those of the other country; goods that can be handled over primitive mountain roads from railhead to railhead are therefore limited both in quantity and kind.

Soviet and other press reports have recorded, however, some trade movements of importance. Among these are shipments of wool, leather, casein, mica, glue, and tallow from the Argentine; of wool, lead and zinc concentrates, and medical supplies from Australia; and of tin and rubber in considerable quantities from the Netherlands Indies. There was also a resumption of trade between the U.S.S.R.

and England, consisting principally of timber and lumber from the former, and tin and rubber first and later planes and tanks from the latter.

Records of Soviet trade with the United States, available up to April 1, 1941, show exports for 3 months valued at \$15,423,000, reexports at \$978,000, and imports at \$6,889,000. The largest items of export were petroleum and gas-well drilling apparatus, \$1,968,000; power-driven metal-working machinery, \$1,691,000; sole leather, \$1,676,000; steam engines, \$1,170,000; construction and conveying machinery, \$843,000; coconut oil, \$812,000; freight cars over 10-ton capacity, \$805,000; wool rugs, \$606,000; tin plate and tagger's tin, \$598,000; excavators and parts, \$581,000; and insulated copper wire and cable, \$499,000. Reexports of foreign merchandise consisted chiefly of spices, \$348,000; gums, resins, and balsams, \$243,000; and cocoa beans, \$206,000.

Among imports from the U.S.S.R., the leading item was furs at \$5,634,000, followed by iridium, \$240,000; manganese ore, \$175,000; and cigarette leaf tobacco, \$146,000. It must be remembered that during the period covered the United States was almost the only possible source of machinery of any kind, and was also called upon to supply a number of tropical products (coconut oil and all reexports) normally obtained by the Soviet Union from the countries where the products originated. Shipment of goods was in all cases to Vladivostok and from that port and Murmansk.

During the 3-month period an American embargo was in effect on certain commodities shipped in considerable quantities by the United States in 1939 and 1940, such as copper, tin, aluminum, rubber, and motor gasoline. This embargo was lifted by the United States Government in June, soon after Germany invaded the U.S.S.R. In August the United States again renewed the commercial agreement with the Soviet Union originally signed August 4, 1937, and renewed each year since. In later months several credits* were opened for Soviet purchases, both direct and under the Lend-Lease Act. Part of the first credits were repaid in gold ahead of due date.

In August also, Great Britain extended to the U.S.S.R. a credit of £10,000,000, for an average term of 5 years, with interest at 3 percent. This is a clearing agreement, based on mutual exchange of goods.

[Reprinted from the *Foreign Commerce Weekly*, January 31, 1941.]

* [For a listing of these, refer to the News Chronology, p. 63 ff. *Ed.*]

Materials on Recent Developments in the SOVIET THEORY OF THE STATE

AT the present time the whole Soviet theory of the state is of special significance to the nations united with the USSR in what their joint declaration on January 1, 1942 terms "the struggle for victory over Hitlerism." Important changes have taken place in the recent past in the Soviet theory of the state. It would seem of value to make available some materials that would clarify the nature of the changes and the reasons for them.

Printed below are abstracts of two recent books published in the USSR which do not appear in English translation. These books are representative of the present Soviet viewpoint in respect to the state.

These abstracts are followed by the speech of Joseph Stalin at the Eighteenth Party Congress in March, 1939, in which he defines the role of the state in relation to the development of communism in one country.

THE SOVIETS — THE POLITICAL FOUNDATION OF THE USSR.* By L. Mandelshtam. Politizdat: Moscow. USSR. 1940. 94 pp.

An exposition of Soviet political philosophy, developed mainly in terms of the following problems: the Marxist theory of the state, the Soviet state in its relation to the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the approaching transition from socialism to communism, the concept of Soviet democracy.

The Marxist theory of the state is presented as a doctrine concerning the historical origin of the state, its class character and the conditions under which it will cease to exist. Mandelshtam follows Engels in the view that the state, as a government over persons, an apparatus of compulsive physical force (police, jails, criminal courts and the like) for use against the citizens arose only when primitive communal ownership of the chief means of production gave way to the accumulation of private property in these means, thereby generating economic classes and class antagonisms which necessitate a special organ of predominating power to keep the economic arrangements in status quo by enforcing the laws which embody and express the essential property

* *Sovety—Politicheskaia Osnova SSSR.*

relations. In this view the state inevitably becomes, in a special sense, the state of the ruling economic class—in the sense that it protects and maintains those conceptions of right (e.g., slavery, serfdom) on which the privileges of the privileged classes depend.

As, according to this position, the repressive force represented by the state arose in response to class divisions in society, so it is expected to disappear when classes have ceased to exist in the world. That is to say, a special organ for the exercise of force against persons will have been rendered unnecessary. It is held that the stateless administration of things will become the rule, as people who have a sufficiency of material resources, economic security and normal health will learn to live in accordance with ethical standards and to settle difficulties without the necessity of a special apparatus of physical compulsion.

In terms of this theory, Mandelshtam points out, every state represents the dictatorship, the use of force in the basic interests of a given class. The Soviet state frankly recognizes itself as a dictatorship of the proletariat, or, more exactly, as the “political form” (19) of this dictatorship. The “socialist revolution opened a new historical epoch—the epoch of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which takes the state form of Soviets.” (20) In regard to terminology, the point is made that this dictatorship may also be referred to as that of the working class, since the proletariat, strictly speaking, no longer exists in the U.S.S.R.

While the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat is clearly traceable, in Mandelshtam’s view, to Marx and Engels, it is only in general terms that it may be said to be foreshadowed by these thinkers in such works as “The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte” and “The Paris Commune.” It is regarded as receiving its detailed historical development in Lenin’s “State and Revolution” and in Stalin’s writings, particularly the latter parts of “Problems of Leninism.”

Approaching Soviet society historically, Mandelshtam characterizes the present stage of its evolution as “the completion of the construction of socialism and the gradual transition from the first to the second phase of communism.” (3) Building on Marx’s analysis (“Gotha Program”) of the two phases of communism, the first or lower phase is identified with socialism, and is characterized by the economic principle, “from each according to ability, to each according to work performed.” It is held that the first part of this principle involves the abolition of involuntary unemployment through social ownership of the means of production, while the second part, through the operation of the same con-

dition, involves the abolition of classes and exploitation. Communism proper, or the higher phase of communism is, however, considered to be characterized economically by the application of the principle, "from each according to ability, to each according to need." Such a society is conceived to depend, not only on social ownership of the means of production and the abolition of classes, but also on an economy of abundance flowing from the unrestricted utilization of productive potentialities and, what is considered of great cultural and ethical significance, the abolition of the opposition between mental and physical labor, and that between town and country. It is in this phase of social development in its fullest sense, on a world wide scale, that the state is expected to disappear.

However, it is here, Mandelshtam points out, that a very significant development in Marxian theory has taken place, in the form of Stalin's doctrine of the possibility of the transition from socialism to most of the features of communism in one country. The principal feature excepted, in this view, would be the disappearance of the state: so long as the transition was confined to one country, the state would be regarded as necessary for the same reason as under socialism, namely, to deal with conflicts and antagonisms projected from the class society surrounding the given country.

Because of its economic and social measures, the state form of the dictatorship of the working class is held to be a broader and higher type of democracy than any that can exist under capitalism. In collectivizing the means of production, legally guaranteeing employment and economic security to all, making the exercise of any form of discrimination on account of race or sex a criminal offense, encouraging by state subsidy the languages and arts of the national minorities, Mandelshtam asserts, the Soviet state has attained ends which remain, for the most part, only ideals under capitalism. He adds that Soviet democracy also has its concept of rights of speech, thought, press and assembly, limited, however, by the interests of the working class in its construction of socialism and its movement towards communism.

COLLECTION OF ESSAYS ON THE VIEWS OF LENIN AND STALIN CONCERNING THE STATE.* Voronezh Publishing House: 1940. 188 pp.

A collection of essays by various writers on selected aspects of the Soviet theory of the state. Korneev presents a general survey of "The Marxist-Leninist Theory of the State," touching briefly upon Engels'

* *Uchenie Lenina-Stalina o Gosudarstve—Sbornik Materialov.*

account of the origin of the state as presented in "Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State," sketching the basic characteristics of the principal types of historical state, classified as slave, feudal, capitalist and socialist, emphasizing throughout the relation between the state and the various ruling classes.

Vyshinskii analyzes the particular contribution of Lenin and Stalin to the Marxist theory of the state, dealing with Lenin's elaboration of the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat and Stalin's conception of the role of the state under socialism. Arzhanov devotes an essay to Lenin's "State and Revolution," tracing out the background of Lenin's work both in terms of the source materials which he utilized and the complex political and social situation of 1917 towards which Lenin oriented his book. Chernov analyzes the problems which surrounded the formation of the Soviet state in terms of the principle laid down by Marx and Lenin that the old state machine cannot simply be taken over and utilized for new purposes, but must be discarded in favor of a newly constructed governing apparatus. In this connection he deals with the growth of Soviets, the construction of the new juridical system and the formation of the Red Army.

Mandelstam takes up a theme of central theoretical significance in his paper on the Soviets as the state form of the dictatorship of the proletariat. He points out that Engels' statement, in his critique of the Erfurt program, to the effect that the democratic republic (whereby reference is usually presumed to be to the conventional parliamentary type) should be regarded as the specific political form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, must be read in connection with observations of both Marx and Engels on the Paris Commune. These, Mandelshtam feels, clearly indicate a realization of the fact that the workers' democratic state will not be the sort of parliamentary structure typical of capitalistically limited democracy, but will be a development of the type of state foreshadowed by the short lived Commune. In all essential respects, he holds, this is the type of government represented by the Soviets. It was to this realization that Lenin came in 1917, but not, however, until 1917. Mandelshtam quotes a statement of Stalin that "Lenin did not yet in 1915 see the Soviet power as a state form of the dictatorship of the proletariat. He already knew in 1905 that the separate, scattered Soviets represented the embryo of revolutionary power in the period of the overthrow of Tsarism. But he did not at that time see the Soviets as a unified state apparatus, as the state form of the dictatorship of the proletariat." (88) In "State and Revolution"

the later development of Lenin's thought is seen. Mandelshtam concludes with a brief review of the constitution of 1936 as exemplifying Lenin's conception of a democracy which is held to be socially broader than that which is possible under capitalism.

Chernov, in a second paper, writes on the conception of two basic phases in the evolution of the Soviet state as formulated by Stalin:

"Since the time of the October Revolution our Socialist state has passed through two main phases in its evolution. The first is the period from the October Revolution to the liquidation of the exploiting classes. The second is the period from the liquidation of the capitalist elements of town and country to the full victory of the socialist system of production and the adoption of the new constitution." (97) Considering the general line of demarcation between the two periods as the end of the twenties and the beginning of the thirties, Chernov analyzes the chief problems which confronted the Soviet state in each of them, in terms of which the state developed the character and functions necessary to fulfill its purpose. Outstanding in the first period were problems growing out of the civil war and intervention, the extension of socialist industrial production and the collectivization of the land. In the second period, the initiation and development of planning, the increase of cultural facilities and opportunities and the counteracting of forces hostile to the growing Soviet state gave rise to the chief problems. In the forties the Soviet Union is seen as entering upon the transition from socialism to communism, and Chernov closes his essay with a quotation from the widely publicized answer which Stalin gave to the question raised concerning the position of the state in this transition.

Trainin elaborates this theme in a paper on the state and communism. He approaches the newer theories in this field through a contrast with the views which they supplanted. "The Marxist thesis of the dying out of the state was formed under the conditions of pre-monopoly capitalism. Marxists considered then that the victory of socialism in one country was impossible, that socialism could triumph only simultaneously in the chief countries. In terms of the new and further developed conditions of imperialistic capitalism, Lenin showed that the unevenness of economic and political evolution is an integral law of capitalism. Proceeding on the basis of this law, the Leninist-Stalinist theory asserts that the socialist revolution cannot triumph at once in all countries." (180) As Lenin, in the light of new historical conditions, found it necessary to modify Marx's conception in respect to socialism, so Stalin, in Trainin's view, finds it necessary for the same

reason to modify Lenin's conception in regard to communism. That is to say, Stalin sees the possibility of the principal features of communism in one country. However, for the period during which the realization is confined to one country, the state will continue to be necessary. Trainin feels that this modification of Lenin's doctrine would have been eminently acceptable to Lenin himself in the light of his attitude as shown by the statement, "We are not doctrinaires. Our theory is not a dogma, but a guide to action. We do not pretend that Marx or Marxists know the road to socialism in all its concreteness. That is sheer nonsense. We know the direction of this road, we know what class forces lead the way, but concretely, practically, only the experience of millions, when they take hold of the business, will show exactly what it is." (188)

SOME QUESTIONS OF THEORY. From the report of Joseph Stalin presented on March 10, 1939 to the Eighteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U.*

It is sometimes asked: "We have abolished the exploiting classes; there are no longer any hostile classes in the country; there is nobody to suppress; hence there is no more need for the state; it must die away.—Why then do we not help our socialist state to die away? Why do we not strive to put an end to it? Is it not time to throw out all this rubbish of a state?"

Or further: "The exploiting classes have already been abolished in our country; socialism has been built in the main; we are advancing towards communism. Now, the Marxist doctrine of the state says that there is to be no state under communism.—Why then do we not help our socialist state to die away? Is it not time we relegated the state to the museum of antiquities?"

These questions show that those who ask them have conscientiously memorized certain propositions contained in the doctrine of Marx and Engels about the state. But they also show that these comrades have failed to understand the essential meaning of this doctrine; that they have failed to realize in what historical conditions the various propositions of this doctrine were elaborated; and, what is more, that they do not understand present-day international conditions, have overlooked the capitalist encirclement and the dangers it entails for the socialist country. These questions not only betray an underestimation of the capitalist encirclement, but also an underesti-

*[In *The Land of Socialism Today and Tomorrow*; Foreign Languages Publishing House: Moscow, 1939.]

mation of the role and significance of the bourgeois states and their organs, which send spies, assassins and wreckers into our country and are waiting for a favourable opportunity to attack it by armed force. They likewise betray an underestimation of the role and significance of our socialist state and of its military, punitive and intelligence organs, which are essential for the defense of the socialist land from foreign attack. It must be confessed that the comrades mentioned are not the only ones to sin in this underestimation. All the Bolsheviks, all of us without exception, sin to a certain extent in this respect. Is it not surprising that we learnt about the espionage and conspiratorial activities of the Trotskyite and Bukharinite leaders only quite recently, in 1937 and 1938, although, as the evidence shows, these gentry were in the service of foreign espionage organizations and carried on conspiratorial activities from the very first days of the October Revolution? How could we have failed to notice so grave a matter? How are we to explain this blunder? The usual answer to this question is that we could not possibly have assumed that these people could have fallen so low. But that is no explanation, still less is it a justification; for the blunder was a blunder. How is this blunder to be explained? It is to be explained by an underestimation of the strength and consequence of the mechanism of the bourgeois states surrounding us and of their espionage organs, which endeavor to take advantage of people's weaknesses, their vanity, their slackness of will, to enmesh them in their espionage nets and use them to surround the organs of the Soviet state. It is to be explained by an underestimation of the role and significance of the mechanism of our socialist state and of its intelligence service, by an underestimation of this intelligence service, by the twaddle that an intelligence service in a Soviet state is an unimportant trifle, and that the Soviet intelligence service and the Soviet state itself will soon have to be relegated to the museum of antiquities.

What could have given rise to this underestimation?

It arose owing to the fact that certain of the general propositions in the Marxist doctrine of the state were incompletely worked out and inadequate. It received currency owing to our unpardonably heedless attitude to matters pertaining to the theory of the state, in spite of the fact that we have twenty years of practical experience in matters of state which provide rich material for theoretical generalizations, and in spite of the fact that, given the desire, we have every opportunity of successfully filling this gap in theory. We have forgotten

Lenin's highly important injunction about the theoretical duties of Russian Marxists, that it is their mission to further develop the Marxist theory. This is what Lenin said in this connection:

"We do not regard Marxist theory as something completed and inviolable; on the contrary, we are convinced that it has only laid the corner-stone of the science which socialists *must* further advance in all directions if they wish to keep pace with life. We think that an *independent* elaboration of the Marxist theory is especially essential for Russian socialists, for this theory provides only general *guiding* principles, which, *in particular*, are applied in England differently from France, in France differently from Germany, and in Germany differently from Russia." (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Russ. ed., Vol. II, p. 492.)

Consider, for example, the classical formulation of the theory of the development of the socialist state given by Engels:

"As soon as there is no longer any class of society to be held in subjection; as soon as, along with class domination and the struggle for individual existence based on the former anarchy of production, the collisions and excesses arising from these have also been abolished, there is nothing more to be repressed which would make a special repressive force, a state, necessary. The first act in which the state really comes forward as the representative of society as a whole—the taking possession of the means of production in the name of society—is at the same time its last independent act as a state. The interference of the state power in social relations becomes superfluous in one sphere after another, and then ceases of itself. The government of persons is replaced by the administration of things and the direction of the process of production. The state is not 'abolished,' *it withers away*." (Herr Eugen Dühring's *Revolution in Science* [*Anti-Dühring*], Eng. ed., p. 315.)

Is this proposition of Engels' correct?

Yes, it is correct, but only on one of two conditions: (1) *if* we study the socialist state only from the angle of the internal development of the country, abstracting ourselves in advance from the international factor, isolating, for the convenience of investigation, the country and the state from the international situation; or (2) *if* we assume that socialism is already victorious in all countries, or in the majority of countries, that a socialist encirclement exists instead of a capitalist encirclement, that there is no more danger of foreign attack, and that

there is no more need to strengthen the army and the state.

Well, but what if socialism has been victorious only in one country, and if, in view of this, it is quite impossible to abstract oneself from international conditions—what then? Engels' formula does not furnish an answer to this question. As a matter of fact, Engels did not set himself this question, and therefore could not have given an answer to it. Engels proceeds from the assumption that socialism has already been victorious in all countries, or in a majority of countries, more or less simultaneously. Consequently, Engels is not here investigating any specific socialist state of any particular country, but the development of the socialist state in general, on the assumption that socialism has been victorious in a majority of countries—according to the formula: "Assuming that socialism is victorious in a majority of countries, what changes must the proletarian, socialist state undergo?" Only this general and abstract character of the problem can explain why in his investigation of the question of the socialist state Engels completely abstracted himself from such a factor as international conditions, the international situation.

But it follows from this that Engels' general formula about the destiny of the socialist state in general cannot be extended to the partial and specific case of the victory of socialism in one country only, a country which is surrounded by a capitalist world, is subject to the menace of foreign military attack, cannot therefore abstract itself from the international situation, and must have at its disposal a well-trained army, well-organized punitive organs, and a strong intelligence service—consequently, must have its own state, strong enough to defend the conquests of socialism from foreign attack.

We have no right to expect of the classical Marxist writers, separated as they were from our day by a period of forty-five or fifty-five years, that they should have foreseen each and every zigzag of history in the distant future in every separate country. It would be ridiculous to expect that the classical Marxist writers should have elaborated for our benefit ready-made solutions for each and every theoretical problem that might arise in any particular country fifty or one hundred years afterwards, so that we, the descendants of the classical Marxist writers, might calmly doze at the fireside and munch ready-made solutions. But we can and should expect of the Marxists-Leninists of our day that they do not confine themselves to learning by rote a few general tenets of Marxism; that they delve deeply into the essence of Marxism; that they learn to take account of the ex-

perience gained in the twenty years of existence of the socialist state in our country; that, lastly, they learn, with the use of this experience and with knowledge of the essence of Marxism, to apply the various general theses of Marxism concretely, to lend them greater precision and improve them. Lenin wrote his famous book, *The State and Revolution*, in August 1917, that is, a few months before the October Revolution and the establishment of the Soviet state. Lenin considered it the main task of this book to defend Marx's and Engels' doctrine of the state from the distortions and vulgarizations of the opportunists. Lenin was preparing to write a second volume of *The State and Revolution*, in which he intended to sum up the principal lessons of the experience of the Russian revolutions of 1905 and 1917. There can be no doubt that Lenin intended in the second volume of his book to elaborate and develop the theory of the state on the basis of the experience gained during the existence of Soviet power in our country. Death, however, prevented him from carrying this task into execution. But what Lenin did not manage to do should be done by his disciples.

The state arose because society split up into antagonistic classes; it arose in order to keep in restraint the exploited majority in the interests of the exploiting minority. The instruments of state authority have been mainly concentrated in the army, the punitive organs, the espionage service, the prisons. Two basic functions characterize the activity of the state: at home (the main function), to keep in restraint the exploited majority; abroad (not the main function), to extend the territory of its class, the ruling class, at the expense of the territory of other states, or to defend the territory of its own state from attack by other states. Such was the case in slave society and under feudalism. Such is the case under capitalism.

In order to overthrow capitalism it was not only necessary to remove the bourgeoisie from power, it was not only necessary to expropriate the capitalists, but also to smash entirely the bourgeois state machine and its old army, its bureaucratic officialdom and its police force, and to substitute for it a new, proletarian form of state, a new, socialist state. And that, as we know, is exactly what the Bolsheviks did. But it does not follow that the new proletarian state may not preserve certain functions of the old state, changed to suit the requirements of the proletarian state. Still less does it follow that the forms of our socialist state must remain unchanged, that all the original functions of our state must be fully preserved in future. As a

matter of fact, the forms of our state are changing and will continue to change in line with the development of our country and with the changes in the international situation.

Lenin was absolutely right when he said:

"The forms of bourgeois states are extremely varied, but in essence they are all the same: in one way or another, in the final analysis, all these states are inevitably the *dictatorship of the bourgeoisie*. The transition from capitalism to communism will certainly create a great variety and abundance of political forms, but in essence there will inevitably be only one: *the dictatorship of the proletariat*." (Lenin, *The State and Revolution*.)

Since the October Revolution, our socialist state has passed through two main phases in its development.

The first phase was the period from the October Revolution to the elimination of the exploiting classes. The principal task in that period was to suppress the resistance of the overthrown classes, to organize the defense of the country against the attack of the interventionists, to restore industry and agriculture, and to prepare the conditions for the elimination of the capitalist elements. Accordingly, in this period our state performed two main functions. The first function was to suppress the overthrown classes inside the country. In this respect our state bore a superficial resemblance to previous states whose functions had also been to suppress recalcitrants, with the fundamental difference, however, that our state suppressed the exploiting minority in the interests of the labouring majority, while previous states had suppressed the exploited majority in the interests of the exploiting minority. The second function was to defend the country from foreign attack. In this respect it likewise bore a superficial resemblance to previous states, which also undertook the armed defence of their countries, with the fundamental difference, however, that our state defended from foreign attack the gains of the labouring majority, while previous states in such cases defended the wealth and privileges of the exploiting minority. Our state had yet a third function: this was the work of economic organization and cultural education performed by our state bodies with the purpose of developing the infant shoots of the new, socialist economic system and re-educating the people in the spirit of socialism. But this new function did not attain to any considerable development in that period.

The second phase was the period from the elimination of the capitalist elements in town and country to the complete victory of the

socialist economic system and the adoption of the new Constitution. The principal task in this period was to establish the socialist economic system all over the country and to eliminate the last remnants of the capitalist elements, to bring about a cultural revolution, and to form a thoroughly modern army for the defence of the country. And the functions of our socialist state changed accordingly. The function of military suppression inside the country ceased, died away; for exploitation had been abolished, there were no more exploiters left, and so there was no one to suppress. In place of this function of suppression the state acquired the function of protecting socialist property from thieves and pilferers of the people's property. The function of defending the country from foreign attack fully remained; consequently, the Red Army and Navy also fully remained, as did the punitive organs and the intelligence service, which are indispensable for the detection and punishment of the spies, assassins and wreckers sent into our country by foreign espionage services. The function of economic organization and cultural education by the state organs also remained, and was developed to the full. Now the main task of our state inside the country is the work of peaceful economic organization and cultural education. As for our army, punitive organs, and intelligence service, their edge is no longer turned to the inside of the country but to the outside, against external enemies.

As you see, we now have an entirely new, socialist state, without precedent in history and differing considerably in form and functions from the socialist state of the first phase.

But development cannot stop there. We are going ahead, towards communism. Will our state remain in the period of communism also?

Yes, it will, unless the capitalist encirclement is liquidated, and unless the danger of foreign military attack has disappeared. Naturally, of course, the forms of our state will again change in conformity with the change in the situation at home and abroad.

No, it will not remain and will atrophy if the capitalist encirclement is liquidated and a socialist encirclement takes its place.

That is how the question stands with regard to the socialist state.

DOCUMENTS

THE UNITED STATES GRANTS \$1,000,000,000 LOAN TO THE SOVIET UNION

Exchange of Communications Between
the President of the United States
and Mr. Joseph Stalin

The following is a paraphrase of the text of a letter addressed by the President under date of October 30, 1941 to Mr. Joseph Stalin, as released by the Department of State of the United States:

I have examined the record of the Moscow Conference and the members of the mission have discussed the details with me. All of the military equipment and munitions items have been approved and I have ordered that as far as possible the delivery of raw materials be expedited. Deliveries have been directed to commence immediately and to be fulfilled in the largest possible amounts.

In an effort to obviate any financial difficulties immediate arrangements are to be made so that supplies up to one billion dollars in value may be effected under the Lend-Lease Act. If approved by the Government of the U.S.S.R. I propose that the indebtedness thus incurred be subject to no interest and that the payments by the Government of the U.S.S.R. do not commence until five years after the war's conclusion and be completed over a 10-year period thereafter.

I hope that special efforts will be arranged by your Government to sell us the available raw materials and commodities which the United States may need urgently under the arrangement that the proceeds thereof be credited to the Soviet Government's account.

At this opportunity I want to tell you of the appreciation of the United States Government for the expeditious handling by you and your associates of the Moscow supply conference, and to send your assurances that we will carry out to the limit all the implications thereof. I hope that you will communicate with me directly without hesitation if you should so wish.

The following is a paraphrase of the text of a letter by Mr. Joseph Stalin under date of November 4, 1941 to the President of the United States, as released by the Department of State of the United States:

The American Ambassador, Mr. Steinhardt, through Mr. Vyshinski, presented to me on November 2, 1941 an aide memoire containing the contents of your message, the exact text of which I have not yet received.

First of all I would like to express my sincere thanks for your appreciative remarks regarding the expeditious manner in which the conference was handled. Your assurance that the decisions of the conference will be carried out to the limit is deeply appreciated by the Soviet Government.

Your decision, Mr. President, to grant to the Soviet Union a loan in the amount of one billion dollars subject to no interest charges and for the

purpose of paying for armaments and raw materials for the Soviet Union is accepted with sincere gratitude by the Soviet Government as unusually substantial aid in its difficult and great struggle against our common enemy, blood-thirsty Hitlerism.

I agree completely, on behalf of the Government of the Soviet Union, with the conditions which you outlined for this loan to the Soviet Union, namely that payments on the loan shall begin five years after the end of the war and shall be completed during the following 10-year period.

The Government of the U.S.S.R. stands ready to expedite in every possible way the supplying of available raw materials and goods required by the United States.

I am heartily in accord with your proposal, Mr. President, that we establish direct personal contact whenever circumstances warrant.

[Source: *Information Bulletin of the Embassy of the USSR*, November 7, 1941.]

DECLARATION BY UNITED NATIONS

A Joint Declaration by The United States of America, The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, China, Australia, Belgium, Canada, Costa Rica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, India, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Poland, South Africa, Yugoslavia.

The Governments signatory hereto,

Having subscribed to a common program of purposes and principles embodied in the Joint Declaration of the President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland dated August 14, 1941, known as the Atlantic Charter,

Being convinced that complete victory over their enemies is essential to defend life, liberty, independence and religious freedom, and to preserve human rights and justice in their own lands as well as in other lands, and that they are now engaged in a common struggle against savage and brutal forces seeking to subjugate the world, *Declare:*

(1) Each Government pledges itself to employ its full resources, military or economic, against those members of the Tripartite Pact and its adherents with which such government is at war.

(2) Each Government pledges itself to cooperate with the Governments signatory hereto and not to make a separate armistice or peace with the enemies.

The foregoing declaration may be adhered to by other nations which are, or which may be, rendering material assistance and contributions in the struggle for victory over Hitlerism.

Done at Washington,

January First, 1942.

[Source: *The Department of State Bulletin*, January 3, 1942.]

DECLARATION OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE SOVIET UNION AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE POLISH REPUBLIC ON FRIENDSHIP AND MUTUAL ASSISTANCE

The Telegraph Agency of the Soviet Union (TASS) reports that as a result of negotiations held December 3-4 of this year in Moscow between Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. Joseph Stalin and People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R. Vyacheslav M. Molotov, on the one hand, and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish Republic General Władysław Sikorski and Ambassador of the Polish Republic in the U.S.S.R. Stanisław Kot, on the other, a Declaration by the Government of the Soviet Union and the Government of the Polish Republic was signed December 4.

The Declaration was signed by Mr. Stalin on the authorization of the Government of the U.S.S.R., and for the Government of the Polish Republic by General Sikorski.

The signing of the Declaration was attended on behalf of the U.S.S.R. by Messrs. Molotov, Malenkov and others and on behalf of the Polish Republic by Ambassador Kot, General Władysław Anders, General Sigismund Sziszko-Bogusz, Colonel Okulicko and others. The text of the Declaration follows:

The Government of the Soviet Union and the Government of the Polish Republic, imbued with a spirit of friendly concord and fighting collaboration, declare:

1. German Hitlerite imperialism is the worst enemy of mankind —no compromise with it is possible. Both States, jointly with Great Britain and other Allies and with the support of the United States of America, will wage war until complete victory and the final destruction of the German invaders.
2. Implementing the treaty concluded July 30, 1941,* both Governments will render each other during the war full military assistance, and the troops of the Polish Republic located on territory of the Soviet Union will wage war against the German bandits hand in hand with the Soviet troops. In peace time their relations will be based on good neighborly collaboration, friendship, and mutual honest observance of the undertakings they have assumed.
3. After the victorious war and appropriate punishment of the Hitlerite criminals, it will be the task of the Allied States to ensure a durable and just peace. This can be achieved only

*[For text, see *The American Review on the Soviet Union*, October-November, 1941, p. 54. Ed.]

through a new organization of international relations on the basis of unification of the democratic countries in a durable alliance. Respect for international law, backed by the collective armed force of all the Allied States, must form the decisive factor in the creation of such an organization. Only under this condition can a Europe destroyed by the German barbarians be restored and can a guarantee be created that the disaster caused by the Hitlerites will never be repeated.

Signed: By authorization of the Government
of the Soviet Union—**STALIN**
For the Government of the Polish
Republic—**SIKORSKI**

[Source: *Information Bulletin of the Embassy of the USSR*, December 6, 1941.]

DECREE OF THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS OF THE USSR ON UNIVERSAL COMPULSORY TRAINING OF THE POPULATION FOR AIR RAID DEFENSE

In order to prepare the civilian population for defense against air and chemical warfare, and also for the purpose of organizing and training primary units (self-defense groups) of the MPVO*, the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR decrees:

The introduction of universal compulsory training in air and chemical defense for the entire adult population within the ages of 16 to 60.

Note: Children from the ages of 8 to 16 are to be trained in the use of individual measures of defense against air raid attacks.

The training is to be given workers and employees at their place of employment, students at their place of study, the remaining citizens at their homes.

Citizens of both sexes—women from the ages of 18 to 50, and men from the ages of 16 to 60—must participate in self-defense groups of the MPVO set up in enterprises, institutions and dwelling places.

The following are not subject to obligatory participation in self-defense groups of MPVO:

- (a) persons temporarily incapacitated for work, due to illness or disablement. (For the period of incapacitation.)
- (b) invalids of labor or of war.
- (c) pregnant women for 35 days before birth and 28 days after.
- (d) women with children up to the age of eight.

Note: Citizens working in enterprises and institutions may join self-defense groups both at their place of employment and at their residence, and shall take part in the work of the group with which they happen to be when an air raid alarm sounds.

*[Local Defense Against Air Raids.]

The training of the population according to the standards of "Prepared for Air-Raid and Chemical Warfare Defense," as well as the training of instructors and of other personnel of these self-defense groups in dwelling places will be delegated to *Osoaviakhim*;** the furnishing of both the material means for training the groups and of their special equipment will be the responsibility of the Executive Committees of city and regional Soviets of Toilers' Deputies.

The training of self-defense groups in enterprises and institutions will be the responsibility of the directors of these enterprises and institutions, but the material means for instructing and equipping these groups will be supplied by the appropriate People's Commissariats and Departments.

The leadership of the self-defense group organizations of the MPVO is assigned to the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (The Chief Administration of Local Air Raid Defense).

The procedure in training the population for air raid and chemical defense, the procedure in organizing self-defense groups and in inducting citizens into these groups shall be established by the Councils of the People's Commissars of the Union Republics.

[Source: *Pravda*, July 2, 1941.]

**[For information on *Osoaviakhim*, see *The American Review on the Soviet Union*, August, 1941, and *Bulletin on the Soviet Union*, December 29, 1941.]

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NEWS CHRONOLOGY

September 15 — December 31, 1941

Newspapers are named primarily for convenient reference, although the same items may appear in other newspapers. The date given is the date on which the event occurred, while the number in parenthesis following the name of the newspaper indicates the date of the paper in which the report appeared. Unless otherwise indicated, the source is The New York Times. (N.Y.H.T.—New York Herald Tribune; D.W.—Daily Worker, E.B.—Information Bulletin of the Embassy of the U.S.S.R.; D.S.B.—Department of State Bulletin).

* Full text in English can be found in source indicated.
These texts are on file in the library of The American Russian Institute.

† For text, refer to Documents section, pp. 47 to 51.

INTERNAL AFFAIRS

ADMINISTRATION

September

- 24—The Volga German Republic is officially abolished by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the territory is divided between two adjoining Regions. (25)¹.

November

- 6—Maxim M. Litvinov is appointed Soviet Ambassador to the United States, replacing Constantine A. Oumansky who is appointed head of the TASS News Agency. (7)
- 11—Litvinov, in addition to his position as Ambassador to the United States, is appointed Vice-Commissar of Foreign Affairs. (12)
- 13—Constantine Oumansky, head of the TASS News Agency, is appointed to the collegium (governing board) of the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs. —D.W. (14)
- 27—The Commissariat of Machine Tool Industry is converted into the Commissariat of Mortar Armament. (Dec. 1)

¹ For background data, see "The Volga Germans," *Bulletin on the Soviet Union*, Sept. 11, 1941.

December

- 6—Elections to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR are postponed by decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet; the powers of the present Supreme Soviet are extended for a year. (8)
- 27—The Supreme Soviet of the USSR decrees the mobilization for the duration of the war of all workers in the arms industry and in those industries supporting it. Quitting of jobs in such industries will be considered desertion punishable by military court. D.W. (28)².

ECONOMIC LIFE

October

- 13—It is reported from Moscow that economic and industrial reorganization is making progress in the Soviet Union, with industrial equipment constantly being moved to the central and eastern provinces. It is further stated that the sowing of the greatest acreage ever to be given over to winter wheat there has been completed in

² For information on pre-war labor decrees, see "The Problem of Labor Turnover: A Review of Soviet Legislation" in the June, 1941, issue of *The American Review on the Soviet Union*.

Siberia and Kazakhstan, with new areas being sown to sugar beets, sun flowers, flax and rubber substitutes. (17)

December

28—Limited production is to begin in Moscow factories that were dismantled during the critical period, although the equipment and the staff that were sent eastwards will remain in the new locations. (29)

30—On January 1, the temporary taxation system in effect since July 3, 1941, will be superseded by a wartime graduated income tax applicable to all citizens over 18 except those in armed forces, their dependents, and invalids. *N.Y.H.T.* (Jan. 1)

MISCELLANEOUS

September

18—Mufti Abdurakhman Rasulev, leader of the Moslems in the USSR, calls upon them to rise in defense of their country. (20)

18—Announcement is made of conscription of every man between 16 and 50 not already in service to train after working hours and acquire military fundamentals. (19)

30—Moscow schools open for fall term. *D.W.* (Oct. 1)

30—*Bezbozhnik*, weekly atheist newspaper is discontinued. Shortage of paper is given as the reason. (Oct. 1)

October

6—*Antireligioznik*, last remaining Soviet anti-religious publication, is suspended. Reason is given in terms of paper shortage. (7)

11—Moscow evacuates women and children. *N.Y.H.T.* (12)

November

4—Alexander Afinogenov, Soviet playwright, author of "Distant Point", the current success at the Westminster Theatre in London, is killed in an air raid in Moscow. (6)

14—In Beirut, after an extended trip through the Soviet Union, the Armenian Archbishop for Syria and Lebanon, Mgr. Khat Atchabahian, declares in an interview that the people of Soviet Armenia do not experience any religious intolerance. (15)

December

23—The annual registration of all men between the ages of 18 and 50 starts. (25)

MILITARY DEVELOPMENTS

September

19—The German High Command claims 1,800,000 Russians have been captured to date and an equal number killed. German casualties to the end of August are given as 402,865 (85,896 killed, 296,670 wounded, and 20,299 missing). (20)

27—Berlin reports end of Kiev battle with 665,000 Soviet captives, 884 tanks, 3,718 pieces of artillery. Soviets dispute claim, saying almost 10 divisions have escaped. (28)

29—R.A.F. in the Soviet Union is reported bagging 12 Nazi planes. *N.Y.H.T.* (30)

30—The Soviet Information Bureau announces the evacuation of Poltava. Concerning Kiev, this source declares, "we left nothing in that city that the Germans might use against us" and half the population was removed. *E.B.* (Oct. 2)

October

5—Moscow disputes German claims of losses; puts Nazi losses at 3,000,000 and Soviet at 1,128,000 (230,000 killed; 720,000 wounded and 178,000 missing). (6)

6—Moscow reports that 3,000,000 German troops have begun a two-pronged drive on the capital along a 300 mile front about 230 miles west of Moscow. (7)

8—Nazis take Orel. *E.B.* (9)

- 12—Soviets abandon Bryansk. *E.B.* (13)
- 13—Moscow admits the fall of Vyazma. (14)
- 14—Soviets announce fall of Mariupol. (15)
- 16—Nazis take Kalinin. Moscow radio calls on Soviet people in the capital "to fight to the last breath." (16)
- 17—American Embassy in Moscow reports officially that it has moved its staff to the new secret Soviet capital. (18)
- 18—It is reported from Moscow that the evacuation of Red Army men from Odessa was completed in 8 days. (18)
- 19—Moscow is proclaimed to be in a state of siege; Stalin declares that the city will be defended to the end. *D.W.* (20)
- 19—*Pravda* states that the Rumanian Army lost 250,000 men before Odessa fell on October 16. (20)
- 20—The Moscow diplomatic corps and all press correspondents arrive in the temporary capital, Kuibyshev. (21)
- 21—It is reported from London that Stalin has become the Commander-in-Chief of the Red Army with Marshal Boris Shaposhnikov as his chief technical adviser. (22)
- 22—Taganrog is evacuated. (23)
- 24—Following the appointment the previous day of Gen. Zhukov to replace Timoshenko as head of the Central Front, Marshals Voroshilov and Budenny are relieved of their command to organize new armies; Marshal Timoshenko is appointed to replace Budenny on the Southern Front. (24)
- 25—*Pravda* calls upon the people of Moscow to convert every house and street into a stronghold and every factory to produce military supplies, as Nazis renew drive on Moscow after a four-day deadlock. *N.Y.H.T.* (26)
- 26—Soviet communique reports loss of Stalino. *N.Y.H.T.* (27)
- 29—Tula is declared in a state of siege. (Nov. 1)
- 29—Soviets admit evacuation of Kharkov; state that "the most important factories and plants, railway rolling stock, raw material stores and other valuables were removed from the town in time". (30)
- 31—Marshal Shaposhnikov resumes the post of Chief of Staff of the Red Army, succeeding Gen. Gregory Zhukov who has taken over the command of the Central Front. (Nov. 1)

November

- 1—Germans enter Tula; Red Army men blow up dam in Rostov area flooding the front and holding up Nazi advance. (2)
- 1—Nazis are driving into the Crimea. (1)
- 2—Col. N. Klimoff of the Soviet General Staff estimates that Russia can mobilize about 27,000,000 men, or 15% of population, and declares that Russia's oil, copper, lead, zinc, as well as three-quarters of her crops and one-half her electric power, are in areas still untouched by war. (3)
- 6—In his address to the Moscow Soviet on the anniversary eve of the Revolution, Stalin proclaims a war of annihilation against Germany and estimates that Axis casualties amount to 4,500,000 so far, with Soviet casualties at 1,748,000; he calls for the establishment of a second front. (7)
- 7—In his second speech in two days, Stalin declares at a military review in the Red Square in Moscow: "The German invaders are straining their last forces. That is no doubt that Germany cannot sustain such a strain for any long time. Another few months, another half year, one year, maybe, and Hitlerite Germany must burst under the weight of her own crimes." (8)

- 11—The first political conference of German prisoners in Russia draws up a message to the German people calling for an end to Hitlerism and the creation of a "free and independent Germany". (13)
 - 14—Moscow reports Red Army breaking through the German siege lines outside of Leningrad. Also Soviet counter-attacks eastward to Tikhvin. (15)
 - 15—Moscow reports sinking of 20 boatloads of German troops attempting a surprise landing on the Murmansk coast. Berlin admits Soviet counter-attacks at Moscow and at Sevastopol. (16)
 - 20—Red Army withdraws from Kerch. (21)
 - 24—Soviets claim counter-attacks on Leningrad and Rostov fronts. (25)
 - 25—Moscow radio reports Red Army losses at 2,122,000 and German losses at 6,000,000. Red Army losses: 490,000 killed, 1,112,000 wounded, and 520,000 missing. Tank losses: 15,000 for the Germans and 7,500 for the Russians; planes 13,000 and 6,400 respectively and guns 19,000 and 12,900. *D.W.* (26)
 - 29—The Soviets announce recapture of Rostov, the key city claimed by the Nazis on Nov. 22. (30)
- December*
- 3—Finnish sources claim Soviets are evacuating Hangoe. (4)
 - 6—Nazis are retreating in disorder on two vital salients of the Moscow front as violent Soviet counter-attacks are launched in sub-zero weather. Nazi retreat in Donbass continues. (7)
 - 8—Nazis announce that with the onset of winter the capture of Moscow is not expected until Spring. (9)
 - 13—American and British correspondents return to Moscow after eight weeks in Kuibyshev. (14)
 - 14—Red Army counter-attacks on all fronts. (14)
 - 15—Red Army reports capture of the vital rail center of Klin. (16)
 - 16—Red Army recaptures Kalinin, *D.W.* (17)
 - 17—Diplomatic sources in Stockholm reveal that the Germans are withdrawing their troops from Finland. (18)
 - 20—Goebbels pleads for gifts of winter clothing from the German populace for the army; Hitler refers to the enemy as "superior in numbers and in material on the front". (21)
 - 21—Hitler takes over command of German army, replacing von Brauchitsch. (22)
 - 21—Kuibyshev estimates German dead, wounded and missing at 7,200,000; other losses are given as 18,000 tanks, 15,600 planes, and 22,000 cannon, with Soviet losses at 2,546,000 dead, wounded and missing, 9,500 tanks, 7,680 planes and 15,480 cannon. *N.Y.H.T.* (22)
 - 22—Marshal Voroshilov is appointed commander of the Far Eastern Front. (23)
 - 26—London reports Soviet and British naval vessels shell enemy Arctic port in their first joint naval action. *N.Y.H.T.* (27)
 - 27—Moscow reports total German sea losses in the Arctic since June 22nd as 42 transports, 2 destroyers, 1 patrol boat, 4 submarines, 2 trawlers and 2 cutters, totalling 200,000 tons. *N.Y.H.T.* (28)
 - 30—Maj. Gen. Vlasov in command of the Solnechnogorsk operation, says Stalin "personally planned and directed the operations" which led to the encirclement of the Germans in this sector. *D.W.* (31)
 - 31—Soviet land, air and naval forces retake Kerch and Feodosia in the Crimea. Stalin congratulates Lieut. Gen. Kozlov and Rear Admiral Oktiabrskii for the successful completion of the action. *N.Y.H.T.* (31)

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

IRAN

September

- 15—Authoritative British sources hint that Great Britain and the Soviet Union may be forced to occupy Teheran. The Soviet Embassy in Teheran warns of difficulties unless the Axis legations leave that city the following day. Popular dissatisfaction with the autocratic regime of Riza Shah Pahlevi is reported on the increase; abdication expected. (16)
- 16—Riza Shah Pahlevi of Iran "because of ill health" abdicates in favor of his son, Mohammed Riza Pahlevi as Soviet and British troops march on Teheran. (17)
- 17—British and Soviet staff officers enter Teheran. (18)
- 19—British armed forces take over full control of the eastern approaches to Teheran. The Soviets and Great Britain will recognize the new ruler, Mohammed Shah Pahlevi. (20)
- 20—The new Iranian ruler issues a declaration pledging close cooperation with Britain and Russia and sponsoring an immediate program of constitutional reform for his country. (21)
- 26—Iran recalls envoys from Germany, Italy and Rumania. *D.W.* (27)

October

- 7—TASS denies Berlin and Rome reports that the Soviet Union has demanded the annexation of northwestern Iran. *E.B.* (8)
- 14—The British Legation in Teheran announces that Great Britain and the Soviet Union have acceded to Iran's request that their troops be evacuated. *N.Y.H.T.* (15)

December

- 15—N.B.C. reports Teheran radio as declaring that Iran has accepted a military treaty with Britain and the Soviet Union. (16)

- 22—British-Soviet-Iranian treaty of alliance is placed before Parliament. *N.Y.H.T.* (23)

- 27—London reports that the Iranian railway and ports are in regular use as supply lines to the USSR. (28)

FINLAND

September

- 22—Helsinki newspaper asks war for more land as Finland's holy right. Rejects 1920 and 1940 borders. (23)
- 24—Britain warns Finland that if she carries fighting beyond her former frontiers, she will be regarded as "a belligerent enemy". Soviets approve the warning. (24)

October

- 6—Secretary of State Hull supports British note of warning to Finland to cease invasion of Russia (8)
- 7—In reply to British warning that Finland will be regarded as an open enemy if she continues invasion of Russia, Helsinki makes claims to territory beyond the old borders. (8)

November

- 3—Hull reveals that the U. S. Government had sent a note to Helsinki on August 18 requesting a reply to the Soviet Union's offer of peace with Finland, and hinting that the U. S. Government would like to have an affirmative reply. (4)
- 7—The U. S. State Department renews its warning that the U. S. will consider Finland a full-fledged ally of Hitler unless it accepts the Soviet peace offer and ceases hostilities against the USSR. *D.W.* (8)
- 12—Finland rejects U. S. warning to accept Soviet peace bid or face American disapproval. (12)
- 18—A communique of the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs of the USSR denies Finnish contentions that Finland is at war with Russia in self-defense, and states in part: "The present disgraceful part played by Finland, which has

become an obedient tool in the hands of the Hitlerite clique of imperialist invaders, has corroborated before the eyes of the whole world how well-founded was the concern of the Soviet Union for the security of its north-western frontier and for the approaches of Leningrad." *E.B.* (21)*

19—Anthony Eden tells the House of Commons that England is taking military and naval action against Rumania, Hungary and Finland. *D.W.* (20)

25—Secretary of War Stimson and Major-General James Burns, Lend-Lease official and member of U. S. mission to Moscow, charge Finland is serving as tool of German military machine and is endangering American supply routes to the USSR. *D.W.* (26)

28—Secretary of State Cordell Hull characterizes as "highly significant" Finland's signing of the Anti-Comintern Pact "used by Hitler solely as an instrument to wage a war of conquest and domination against free peoples". This act of Finland's in conjunction with Hitler's puppet governments, Hull declares, "cannot be camouflaged or explained away by propaganda attacks on nations engaged in defending themselves". *D.S.B.* (29)

December

6—Britain sends notes to Hungary, Rumania and Finland which will result in the existence of a state of war. (6)

6—Pres. Ryti and Baron Mannerheim tell the Finnish people they must continue to fight against the Soviets. (7)

6—The United States orders Finnish ships in American ports put under protective custody following Britain's declaration of war on Finland. (7)

NEUTRALS

September

16—Ankara reports Bulgarian request on Sept. 13 that eight Bulgarian destroyers, a submarine, three E-boats, and a torpedo boat be permitted to pass

through the Dardanelles into the Black Sea. British officials maintain these are Axis warships or at any rate manned by Axis crews. (18)

16—The Bulgarian Government rejects Soviet protests against the massing of German and Italian warships in Bulgarian harbors for attacks on the Black Sea coast. (17)

18—Molotov informs Bulgaria that the Soviet Government finds her answer to the protest regarding the massing of German and Italian warships in Bulgarian harbors unsatisfactory and reserves the right to take "opportune steps". (18)

19—Bulgaria protests alleged landings of Soviet parachutists in the Dobruja. (20)

22—It is reported from Turkey that the Germans have presented Bulgaria with a virtual ultimatum to enter the war against Russia on threat of complete occupation by the German Army. (23)

23—Moscow rejects as "concoctions" the assertions in new Bulgarian protest against alleged Red Army parachutist operations. Moscow radio reports 400,000 Bulgarian troops massed for war. *N.Y.H.T.* (24)

24—Bulgaria denies any intention to fight the Soviet Union. (25)

October

6—Moscow accuses Bulgaria of allowing German and Rumanian vessels to fly the Bulgarian flag for neutrality protection. (7)

9—Turkey and Germany conclude a new trade pact providing for shipment of high grade Turkish chromium ore to Germany in 1943-44 contingent upon German delivery of 18,000,000 Turkish lire worth of war materials before the end of 1942. (10)

19—It is reported from India that Axis nationals are to be expelled from Afghanistan. *N.Y.H.T.* (20)

31—It is reported from Rome that 101 Germans and Italians expelled from

Afghanistan have reached Peshawar, India, on their way to Turkey. (Nov. 1)

December

3—President Roosevelt formalizes lend-lease aid to Turkey, which has been going on secretly since May, as vital to the defense of the United States. (4)

30—It is reported from Istanbul that the Germans are building new airports close to Turkey, are practicing air invasion tactics similar to those used against Crete, are building an Aegean submarine force. (Jan. 1)

ENEMIES

September

29—Nazis deny a peace bid to the Soviet Union. *N.Y.H.T.* (30)

30—Moscow denies readiness for a truce. (Oct. 1)

October

3—Hitler makes a speech in which he states that the Soviets will never rise again. (4)*

November

24—Berlin states that thirteen nations will attend the Anti-Comintern Conference on Nov. 25; that the seven new members will be Finland, Nanking, Denmark, Bulgaria, Rumania, Slovakia and Croatia. (25)

December

11—*Pravda* declares in an editorial: "No compromise and no peace with Hitlerism" is possible. "Negotiations, still less agreement, with the cut-throats are out of the question." (12)

11—U. S. Congress declares war on Germany and Italy. (12)

16—It is reported from Stockholm that German sources reveal a typhus epidemic of major proportions is menacing the German army. (17)

21—An epidemic of spotted typhus is raging in Lithuania and spreading to Germany. (22)

25—Vichy reports that additional French-

men are leaving for the Russian front. (26)

26—The British radio reports that the Germans have quarantined towns in Lithuania and closed schools in Poland and the Ukraine to prevent the spread of the typhus epidemic. (26)

30—Moscow reports publication of the newspaper "Das Freie Wort" by and for German prisoners. *D.W.* (31)

OCCUPIED TERRITORY

October

8—Nazis set up civil rule in conquered sections of the Soviet Union; many districts are annexed to Ostland; Galicia given to the Gouvernement General. The pro-German Ukrainian nationalists are reported disappointed with this move. (9)

19—General Antonescu of Rumania decrees the incorporation of Odessa into the Rumanian administrative district east of the Dniester River. (20)

26—Official Rumanian news agency reports that Jews living in Bessarabia and Bukovina are being banished to ghettos established in the Bug River section of the Ukraine. (27)

November

17—Alfred Rosenberg is appointed "Reich Minister for the East"—Gauleiter of the occupied sections of the USSR, claimed to total 615,000 square miles. (18)

26—The Soviet Government, in a note to all countries with which it has diplomatic relations, charges the German Army leaders with torturing Russian prisoners of war, and with committing atrocities against the civilian population. *D.W.* (27)

December

17—It is revealed in Moscow that the Nazis devastated the Tolstoi estate and museum in Yasnaya Polyana. (18)

17—*Krasnaia Zvezda* reports that 52,000 were killed by Nazis in a Kiev pogrom against Jews and others. *E.B.* (17)

FAR EAST

September

- 19—Families of Soviet Embassy staff in Japan leave for home. Japanese protest against Soviet mines in the Pacific. (20)
- 22—A movement is started in Nagpur, India, to organize independent Indian "Freedom Brigade" of 1,000 men to fight on the Russian front. *D.W.* (23)

October

- 3—Japan warns the Indies not to furnish the Soviet Union with raw materials; calls such trade hostile. *N.Y.H.T.* (3)
- 5—The Japanese Government breaks off diplomatic relations with the Polish Government in London. (6)
- 6—Netherlands Indies promise to furnish needed supplies to the Soviet Union as long as the fight against Germany, the common enemy, continues. *D.W.* (7)
- 24—Soviet Embassy states that Russia has notified Chungking of inability to continue shipments of war materials to China. (24)
- 31—The Soviet Union announces that delegates of the Mongolian People's Republic and Manchoukuo, advised respectively by Russian and Japanese representatives in a conference at Harbin on October 16, have fixed the new frontier along a 250 kilometer section of the disputed Bor Nor region. On October 27 a border clash was reported by Tass and denied by Japan. (Nov. 3)

November

- 19—Japanese newspapers report a Japanese-Soviet border clash on November 16 near Manchuli in Manchoukuo. (20)
- 21—Tass denies Japanese report of Nov. 16 border clash. *E.B.* (22)

December

- 7—Japan opens attack on Pearl Harbor, Honolulu and other American possessions in the Pacific, and then declares

war against the United States and Great Britain. (8)

- 8—Congress declares war against Japan. The White House announces that aid to Britain and Russia will not be curtailed by the war with Japan. (9)
- 12—*Pravda* states that Japan is doomed to "certain defeat" in the Pacific. *D.W.* (13)
- 13—TASS denies United Press report that Soviet naval attache at Tokyo congratulated Japan on Pacific naval victories. *E.B.* (17)
- 17—The Khabarovsk radio heard in Manila reports that Red Army troops are holding maneuvers in the Far East. (18)
- 21—Marshal Chang Kao Han, President of the Council of Ministers of the Mongolian People's Republic, congratulates Stalin on Soviet victories. *D.W.* (22)
- 21—Tokyo denies report circulated from Batavia that Japanese have sunk the Soviet vessel, "Perekop". (22)
- 27—The *Manila Bulletin* reports the sinking of the Soviet freighter "Maikop" by the Japanese. (27)
- 29—Tokyo announces that Soviet-Japanese negotiations on the extension of the fisheries agreement are proceeding at Kuibyshev. *N.Y.H.T.* (30)

RELATIONS WITH ALLIES

September

- 15—Lord Beaverbrook, Minister of Supply, announces that all tanks and tank parts made the following week in Britain will be sent straight to the Soviet front lines. (16)
- 15—W. Averell Harriman, head of the American delegation to Moscow, stops in London to discuss supply problem. (16)
- 15—President Roosevelt, in a report to Congress on aid deliveries, in which he states that 90 per cent of the original \$7,000,000,000 lend-lease appropriations have been allocated, lauds

- Soviet resistance and calls for speedy aid to the Soviet front. *D.W.* (16)
- 16—Harriman reports that American technicians and mechanics are already at work in the Soviet Union. (17)
- 16—Plan for a large R.F.C. loan to the Soviet Union is reported to avoid issue of lend-lease aid to the Soviets. (17)
- 17—Defense Supplies Corp., a subsidiary of the R.F.C., contracts with Amtorg for the purchase of \$100,000,000 worth of manganese, chromite, asbestos and platinum from the Soviet Union. \$50,000,000 of this sum will be advanced before delivery of goods and will be available to the Soviets for the purchase of war supplies. (18)
- 18—Alexander Bogomolov, new Soviet Ambassador to the Czecho-Slovak Republic presents his credentials to Dr. Benes, head of the Czecho-Slovak Government-in-Exile. (19)
- 18—Molotov, Voroshilov, Mikoyan, V. A. Malyshev and M. Yakovlev are chosen to represent the Soviet Union at the Three Power Conference in Moscow. (18)
- 18—A \$10,000,000 loan is made to the Soviet Government to take care of Amtorg's outstanding commitments. (19)
- 20—Agreement is reached in London by the American and British missions to Moscow on immediate shipment of material aid to the Soviet Union. (21)
- 22—United States aid mission headed by Harriman arrives in USSR together with British Mission. (23)
- 22—Soviet Ambassador and Mrs. Maisky visit tank factories in English Midlands on occasion of presentation of first tanks for the Soviet Union made in "Tanks for Russia Week". (23)
- 23—Stettinius asks for no restrictions on aid to the Soviet Union. *D.W.* (24)
- 24—The Roosevelt-Churchill 8-point plan of peace aims is endorsed at the London Allied Conference by the governments of Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Yugoslavia, the Soviet Union and a representative of Free France. *D.W.* (25)
- 24—Jewish people of Palestine and England send greetings to Soviet Jewish People's meeting. *E.B.* (24)
- 26—The Soviet Union and the Free French conclude a military and political alliance at the Soviet Embassy in London after negotiations between Ambassador Maisky and Gen. de Gaulle. (27)
- 28—Stalin, as head of the Council of People's Commissars, receives the chairmen of the American and British delegations to the Three-Power Conference. (29)
- 30—A Soviet-Czech Military Pact is signed. A unit to fight against Germany is being set up in the Soviet Union composed of Czech residents and former members of the Czech Legion who fought in Poland. (Oct. 1)
- 30—Churchill states that every sacrifice must be made to increase aid to the USSR. *D.W.* (Oct. 1)
- 30—The new Polish army is being trained in the Urals, with one division already fully equipped. (Oct. 1)
- 30—President Roosevelt cites the Soviet constitution on freedom of religious worship and anti-religious propaganda in connection with notification received by Secretary of State Hull from Polish Ambassador Jan Ciechanowski that the newly-formed Polish Army in the Soviet Union has a Polish Catholic Church and a Polish Synagogue in Moscow as well as army Chaplains. (Oct. 1)³.

³ For background information, see "Religious Freedom in the Soviet Union" and "The Soviet Union and the Poles" in the October 9 and December 4, 1941, issues of *Bulletin on the Soviet Union*.

October

- 1—At the concluding session of the Three Power Conference in Moscow, Mr. Harriman in a speech on his own behalf and on behalf of Lord Beaverbrook states that "it was decided at the conference to place at the disposal of the Soviet Government practically every requirement for which the Soviet military and civilian authorities asked. The Soviet Government is supplying Great Britain and the United States with large quantities of raw materials urgently required in these countries." He declares that the conference "adheres to the resolution of the three governments to establish after the final annihilation of Nazi tyranny a peace that will enable all countries to live in security on their territories in conditions free from fear or need". *Moscow News* (3)*

- 1—Foreign Affairs Commissar Molotov in a speech at the concluding session of the Three Power Conference in Moscow states that the conference, initiated by Roosevelt and Churchill, "has shown by its decisions that deliveries of arms and materials most important for defense of the USSR, already begun, are destined to assume a larger and more systematic character, and that these deliveries of planes, tanks, and other armaments, equipment and raw materials will be increased and will acquire growing importance in the future". Molotov expresses confidence that "the Nazi invaders will appeal in vain to the peoples and countries they have enslaved", that "all this will not give the Nazi invaders as much strength for continuation of the war as the three great and strong democracies are willing to devote to the destruction of bloody Hitlerism". The Nazi plans, says Molotov, called for destroying adversaries one by one. "The political

significance of the conference lies in the fact that it has shown how decisively these plans of the Hitlerites have been thwarted, by the powerful front of freedom-loving people which has been formed with the Soviet Union, Great Britain and the United States at the head. . . . We do not doubt that our great anti-Hitler front will rapidly gain strength, that there exists no force which could break this anti-Hitler front."

"The time will come", he declares, "when the peoples will pronounce their weighty judgment on that mission of liberation which the Soviet Union, under the guidance of its great leader, Comrade Stalin, now performs not only in the interests of the emancipation of the peoples of Europe but in the interests of the peoples of the whole world, and which today is already widely recognized by representatives of friendly countries whose support we deeply understand and cherish."

Molotov concludes by assuring Great Britain and the United States that "our will to struggle against Hitler is indomitable, and that our confidence in victory over the sworn enemy of all freedom-loving people is unshakable." *E.B.* (3)*

- 1—Jesse Jones, Federal Loan Administrator, states at his press conference that he favors lend-lease aid for the Soviet Union. He states that another \$20,000,000 of the \$50,000,000 advance promised has been given the Soviets. *N.Y.H.T.* (2)
- 2—British trade union leaders to leave for Moscow for first meeting of newly-formed Anglo-Soviet trade union committee. (3)
- 3—Major-Gen. Chaney, air expert of the American mission to Moscow, inspects Moscow arms factory and gives it A-1 rating. *N.Y.H.T.* (4)

- 4—Lozovsky, official Soviet spokesman, cites constitutional provision concerning freedom for religious worship and anti-religious propaganda and sees controversy over religious freedom in the Soviet Union as the work of opponents of aid to his country. *N.Y.H.T.* (5)
- 5—The Moscow radio announces that a number of modern Soviet bombers have been flown to Yugoslavia to aid the Serbian guerrillas fighting Hitler. (6)
- 5—American Federation of Labor leaders endorse aid to the Soviet Union. (6)
- 6—U. S. Ambassador to the USSR Steinhardt to return to Washington for brief stay to consult with State Department. (7)
- 8—*Red Fleet* writer calls for opening of a western front. *D.W.* (9)
- 8—To counteract Nazi version of President Roosevelt's letter introducing Mr. Harriman to Mr. Stalin, the White House issues the official text, according to which the President tells Stalin "how thrilled all of us are because of the gallant defense of the Soviet armies" and assures him "of our great determination to be of every possible material assistance". *D.S.B.* (11)*
- 10—U. S. Ambassador Steinhardt postpones trip to Washington due to pressure of work in Moscow. (11)
- 10—Lord Beaverbrook announces that Britain will supply the Soviets without demanding cash payment. (11)
- 10—U. S. House of Representatives votes \$6,000,000,000 for lend-lease aid; an amendment to bar Russia from this aid is rejected. (11)
- 12—Lord Beaverbrook, head of the British mission to Moscow, declares in a London broadcast, "We will forego food from abroad if the ships are needed for Russia. We will give up all of our leisure if munitions are required to defend their cities. . . . Stalin must be sustained." (13)
- 13—The British labor delegation headed by Sir Walter Citrine is in Moscow to consult with Soviet trade union leaders. *N.Y.H.T.* (14)
- 13—President Roosevelt states that supplies to "brave Russia" from the U. S. and *vice versa* are on schedule and will continue. Harriman finds Russians able mechanics capable of making full use of machinery sent them. *N.Y.H.T.* (14)
- 14—Jan Ciechanowski, Polish Ambassador to the U. S., tells Secretary of State Hull that two Polish Divisions in the Soviet Union are ready to fight. *D.W.* (15)
- 15—Planes destined for Peru are seized at the docks for transfer to the Soviet Union; Peru is reimbursed. (15)
- 15—The American Federation of Labor in annual convention endorses all aid to Soviets, China, Britain. *D.W.* (16)
- 20—Washington extends \$30,000,000 in credits to the USSR from the Stabilization Fund against gold that Russia will send to this country. (21)
- 20—More than 1000 Protestant clergymen appeal to President Roosevelt for all-out aid to the Soviet Union. *D.W.* (21)
- 20—Washington reports that two new Siberian ports are opened for armament shipments from the U. S. — Nogaevo, several hundred miles north of Vladivostok, and Petropavlovsk-Kamchatski, on the Kamchatka Peninsula. *D.W.* (21)
- 21—W. Averell Harriman, commenting on the "extraordinary high" morale of the Soviet people, states that the Soviets will fight on at all costs but the Red Army needs "substantial quantities of munitions and raw materials". *D.W.* (22)
- 21—Federal Loan Administrator Jones makes additional payment of \$6,889,-

- 832 to Amtorg to be used for the purchase of munitions; this advance, like the previous \$30,000,000, is made against future gold shipments. *N.Y.H.T.* (22)
- 22—The Defense Supplies Corp. makes additional disbursement of \$9,581,618 to Amtorg. (23)
- 22—The Maritime Commission in Washington announces that all aid to Russia will henceforth be shipped from Boston to Archangel instead of to Vladivostok. (23)
- 23—Stephen Early comments at the White House concerning the Maritime Commission's announcement of the Boston-Archangel supply route: "I would just as soon send a telegram to Hitler as to announce it." (24)
- 26—It is reported by radio that Trade Union Committees of British and Soviet workers meeting in Moscow Oct. 13-15 adopted an eight-point resolution for a "fight to the death" against Hitler. *D.W.* (27)*
- 29—It is announced from Washington that former administrator of export control, Brig.-Gen. Maxwell will leave soon with a military mission for the Middle East to broaden railway facilities for the benefit of the USSR. (30)
- 30—According to "highly authoritative quarters" in Washington, the Soviet Union is to get plane priority, reversing the decision of ten days before to give priority to the U. S. Army. (31)
- 30—The Archbishop John T. McNicholas of Cincinnati, writing to the priests and laity of his archdiocese, states that the late Pope Pius XI's denunciation of communism "was not given as a moral direction to governments regarding aid or refusal of aid to Russia in the case of a war of defense" and "the same must be said regarding diplomatic relations with Russia". (31)
- November*
- 1—President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Mackenzie King of Canada confer on aid to the USSR. (2)
- 6—U. S. State Department reveals that the USSR is to get \$1,000,000,000 in lend-lease aid. (7)†
- 7—In a letter to Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., Lease-Lend Administrator, President Roosevelt states: "I have today found that the defense of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is vital to the defense of the United States," and instructs him "to take immediate action to transfer defense supplies to the USSR," in accordance with the billion dollar credit loan of Oct. 30. (8)
- 10—U. S. Ambassador Steinhardt sends a letter to *Izvestia* on the anniversary of the revolution in which he pays tribute to the Red Army and expresses confidence in the outcome of the war if the "united resources of the Soviet Union, Great Britain and the United States are pitted against the resources of Hitler". *D.W.* (11)
- 11—The Office of Production Management in Washington instructs machine-tool manufacturers in the United States to accept specific purchase orders placed by Amtorg on behalf of the Soviet Government and not to allow priorities and preference ratings to interfere with orders for Russian supplies; these are to total some \$15,000,000 during 1942. (12)
- 17—U. S. Ambassador Steinhardt and Soviet Ambassador Litvinov arrive in Teheran en route by plane from Kuibyshev to London and Washington. (18)
- 18—At its fourth annual convention, in Detroit, the Congress for Industrial Organization in a resolution on foreign policy urges complete cooperation of United States with Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and China. A relief drive for funds to aid these Allies is authorized. *D.W.* (19)
- 18—The U. S. Navy sets up a priorities system for the arming of merchant ships and provides that vessels which carry munitions to Britain and the Soviet Union through the North At-

- lantic are to be the first to receive guns and gun crews. (19)
- 18—Major Gen. John N. Greely of the U. S. Army is to head a large American Army mission to the USSR. (19)
- 19—Ambassador Litvinov and his wife are prevented by minor British officials from boarding a British transport plane leaving Teheran for Cairo. The British envoy apologizes when Litvinov calls the incident an insult. (20)
- 22—Litvinov to travel to Washington by way of the Pacific Ocean instead of stopping at London. *S.W.* (23)
- 27—Four British fliers are awarded the Order of Lenin for heroism at the front. They are listed as Colonel Sherwood, Major Rooke, Major Miller and Sergeant Howe. *D.W.* (28)
- 30—Lord Beaverbrook, addressing a meeting of shop stewards of the Amalgamated Engineering Union in Glasgow, reads a telegram from Stalin thanking Great Britain for tanks and planes. (Dec. 1)

December

- 2—Arthur Krock in *The New York Times* states that the aid promised by Washington to the Soviets for the months of October and November is "far short of the promise". (3)
- 3—Commenting on Arthur Krock's statement that U. S. aid to Moscow is lagging, Stephen T. Early says that President Roosevelt is determined to "continue the fullest possible assistance" to the Soviet Union. *D.W.* (4)
- 4—Polish-Soviet Declaration of Friendship and Mutual Assistance is signed in Moscow. (5)†
- 4—Speaking over the Soviet radio in Moscow on Dec. 4, General Sikorski, President of the Council of Ministers and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Polish Republic, declares that he is addressing his "countrymen and, on behalf of the Allied governments, all other peoples who today

share the fate of Poland". In his opening remarks, he says "I warmly greet the heroic peoples of the Soviet Union, who are fearlessly and self-sacrificingly defending their country from the barbaric German hordes. I admire the leader of these peoples, Stalin, who, in a planned and unswerving manner, is directing the defense of Russia".

Concerning Polish-Soviet relations he states, "Both sides are ready to forget everything that separated them in the past." As a result of "the joint efforts of the democratic peoples", he predicts, "A new and just world will emerge victorious from this struggle, a world of free peoples placing freedom above all else, a world based on the inviolable foundation of honest democracy." The Poles, he declares, have learned much from the war and are now fighting "for a new Poland—a Poland whose strength will be founded on the equality of all its citizens before the law, without distinction of race or creed, on political, social and economic democracy".

Sikorski expressed confidence that in the large-scale struggle before the war could be brought to an end, "the material and moral resources of fighting democracy will receive ever increasing support from the United States of America". *E.B.* (6)*

- 6—Maxim Litvinov arrives in San Francisco. *N.Y.H.T.* (7)
- 8—Upon presenting his credentials to President Roosevelt at the White House, the new Soviet Ambassador, Mr. Maxim Litvinov, speaks of "the friendship and high esteem which the peoples of the Soviet Union entertain for the American people", expresses appreciation for not only the "sympathy in this struggle, but also substantial material support" which the Soviet peoples are receiving from the American people.

"My arrival in Washington", Mr. Litvinov states, "coincided precisely with the moment in which American territory and American armed forces were subjected to attack from another state—an attack no less unexpected than that to which, five and a half months ago, the Soviet Union was subjected. This event, arising from the present international situation, was brought about by the same forces and the same ideology which let loose sanguinary war in Europe and other continents. I must limit myself at the present moment, Mr. President, to the assurance of the best wishes and warm sympathy of the people of the Soviet Union toward the American people in these days of their ordeal. I am convinced that the similar trial of the Soviet and American peoples will rivet still more strongly the bonds of friendship between them."

President Roosevelt in his reply declares: "I thank you also for conveying the gratitude of your Government and country for the support and sympathy which they are receiving from the Government and people of the United States in the struggle which the peoples of the Soviet Union are so heroically and effectively making against the forces of aggression, and assure you that it is the firm intention of the Government of the United States to continue to carry out its program of aid to the Soviet Union in the conduct of the struggle.

"You are taking up your duties here upon a day of great historic import. As you have pointed out, coincident with your arrival yesterday in Washington, American territory and American armed forces were subjected to an attack from another State. This attack, as you quite correctly state, has been brought about by the same forces and the same ideology which have

unleashed war in Europe and other continents. In response to this attack, at this very moment Congress is voting upon a declaration of war with Japan which is guilty of deliberate and unprovoked aggression against the United States. I am grateful for your assurance of the best wishes and warm sympathy of the people of the Soviet Union for the American people during these trying days.

"There can be no doubt that the struggle in which the United States is being forced to engage is closely connected with, if not a component part of, a gigantic struggle on a world scale which has been brought about by kindred forces of aggression inflamed with ambitions for world conquest and world domination. I agree with you that the successful and speedy outcome of this struggle will depend largely upon the extent to which the countries opposing aggression are willing to coordinate their activities, to use their resources in a timely and rational manner, and to maintain among themselves full understanding and confidence; and I can assure you that your efforts to create conditions in the relations between the United States and the Soviet Union most favorable for bringing about a successful outcome of this struggle will be met by similar efforts on the part of the American Government." *E.B.* (11)*

11—After a visit to Secretary of State Hull, Maxim Litvinov declares: "Naturally, we have a common cause and a common battle. We are fighting in a common cause and we are fighting Hitler more than anybody else." (12)

11—Prime Minister Churchill, reporting to the House of Commons on new war developments, declares "we must faithfully and punctually fulfill" all pledges of aid to the Soviet Union. (12)

13—At his first press conference in Washington, Ambassador Litvinov makes a lengthy statement on the Soviet position in the war. He reminds the reporters that "for five-and-a-half months, the Red Army has had to endure, without outside aid, the full pressure of the powerful military machine of Hitler's Germany, with its mighty reserves and resources, for during this period Hitler did not have to fight anywhere else. His dream of war on only one front had come true. We, naturally, would have welcomed the creation, somewhere in Europe, of a second front, which would have drawn away some of Hitler's forces and given us a moment's respite, enabling us to do a certain amount of regrouping of our own forces in order to pass to the offensive. We never complained however, never made any demands upon our ally, England, that she should create such a front, but took into consideration her assurances as to the impossibility, difficulty or prematurity of invasion of the continent."

Litvinov goes on to say that "we now have, in various parts of the world, separate sectors of one great battlefield," but "it is Hitler who is the chief culprit in all the present wars, the inspirer and moving spirit of the whole gang, and the destruction of Hitler would mean the end of them all." For this reason, the Soviet Ambassador declares, the Soviet Union is determined "to break up his monstrous war machine and, with it, its perpetrators. We feel that no one can do this without us, or instead of us, and we should be rendering our allies and the common cause poor service did we for a moment relax our efforts in this direction, just now."

In answer to a reporter's question, "Is the Soviet Union willing to have the troops of its allies come into Soviet territory from either east or west to form a common front?" Litvinov replies, "Why not? Naturally we would welcome any help on any front for the common cause."

"Do you anticipate difficulty in getting Lend-Lease aid from us in view of the extension of the war?" he is asked. "According to what I heard from your President, Mr. Hopkins, and Mr. Hull, we don't anticipate any difficulties. On the contrary, we take it that the help will be increased considerably in accordance with the growth of your industry."

"It has been said that the peace may be harder to win than the war. Do you have any ideas about after the war is over? What settlement to prevent another war?" another reporter inquires. The Soviet Ambassador replies: "That is a very important problem. We are quite prepared to discuss this problem with our allies, even now." *E.B.* (15)*

14—Mackay Radio is given permission by the FCC to establish direct radio telegram service between New York and the Soviet Union. (15)

16—General Sikorski, Commander-in-Chief of the Polish Army, in a telegram to Soviet leaders pays tribute to the leadership of Stalin and hails the success of the Red Army. *D.W.* (17)

19—President Roosevelt confirms rumors that plans for an inter-Allied high command are being discussed. *D.W.* (20)

22—Mrs. Churchill, thanking those who contributed \$4,000,000 to the British Red Cross fund for the USSR, declares that Britons are "awed and moved by the indomitable courage and endurance of the Russian people". *N.Y.H.T.* (23)

- 26—Litvinov sees Roosevelt and is informed of the progress of the conversations between the President and Churchill. *N.Y.H.T.* (27)
- 27—TASS announces that the first big shipment of American medicines, bandages and hospital equipment reached a Soviet port during the last few days. *E.B.* (31)
- 28—London announces that the British delegation to Moscow headed by Anthony Eden has completed discussions with Stalin and Molotov on matters of military and diplomatic policy, including post-war problems. (29)
- 29—The Soviet trade union delegation, headed by Nikolai Shvernik, chairman of the Central Council of Trade Unions of the USSR, arrives in London. *D.W.* (30)
- 29—Anthony Eden, upon return to London, characterizes talks with Stalin as "full, frank and sincere"; says he was "lucky enough to see something of the military performance of the Russian armies which was truly magnificent". *N.Y.H.T.* (30)
- 31—It is reported from London that Archangel is successfully being kept clear of ice so as to enable receipt of war supplies. *D.W.* (Jan. 1)
- 31—D. Zaslavskii, in *Pravda* article, likens American action in declaring Manila an open city to tactics of Petain. (Jan. 1)

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The publication program of THE AMERICAN RUSSIAN INSTITUTE has been flexible and has varied with current needs for information about Soviet developments. In 1936 and 1937 the *Research Bulletin on the Soviet Union* was published; in 1938 this was superseded by *The American Quarterly on the Soviet Union* and the *Bulletin on the Soviet Union*. In 1941 the *Quarterly* became a bi-monthly publication under the name *The American Review on the Soviet Union* while the *Bulletin on the Soviet Union*, not published in the first half of 1941, was issued again beginning July, 1941, with the descriptive subtitle *Russia At War*. Because all the articles listed below contain information which is still of significance and which in some instances is the only statement printed on the subject, it has been felt of value, particularly in view of the number of requests for such an index, to remind our readers of material available in their fields of interest. A detailed chronology of current Soviet events can be found in each issue of the *Research Bulletin*, the *Quarterly*, and the *Review*. These publications also provide bibliographical information by listing current articles (in English) on the Soviet Union. Issues marked "out of print" can be read in the library of The American Russian Institute. In ordering Institute publications, please forward payment in advance in accordance with the prices indicated as follows:

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- (AQ) *The American Quarterly on the Soviet Union*, 35c
- (RB) *The Research Bulletin on the Soviet Union*, 10c
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